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FOX
TUKE
AN

MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE

OF

GEORGE FOX.

BY HENRY TUKE.

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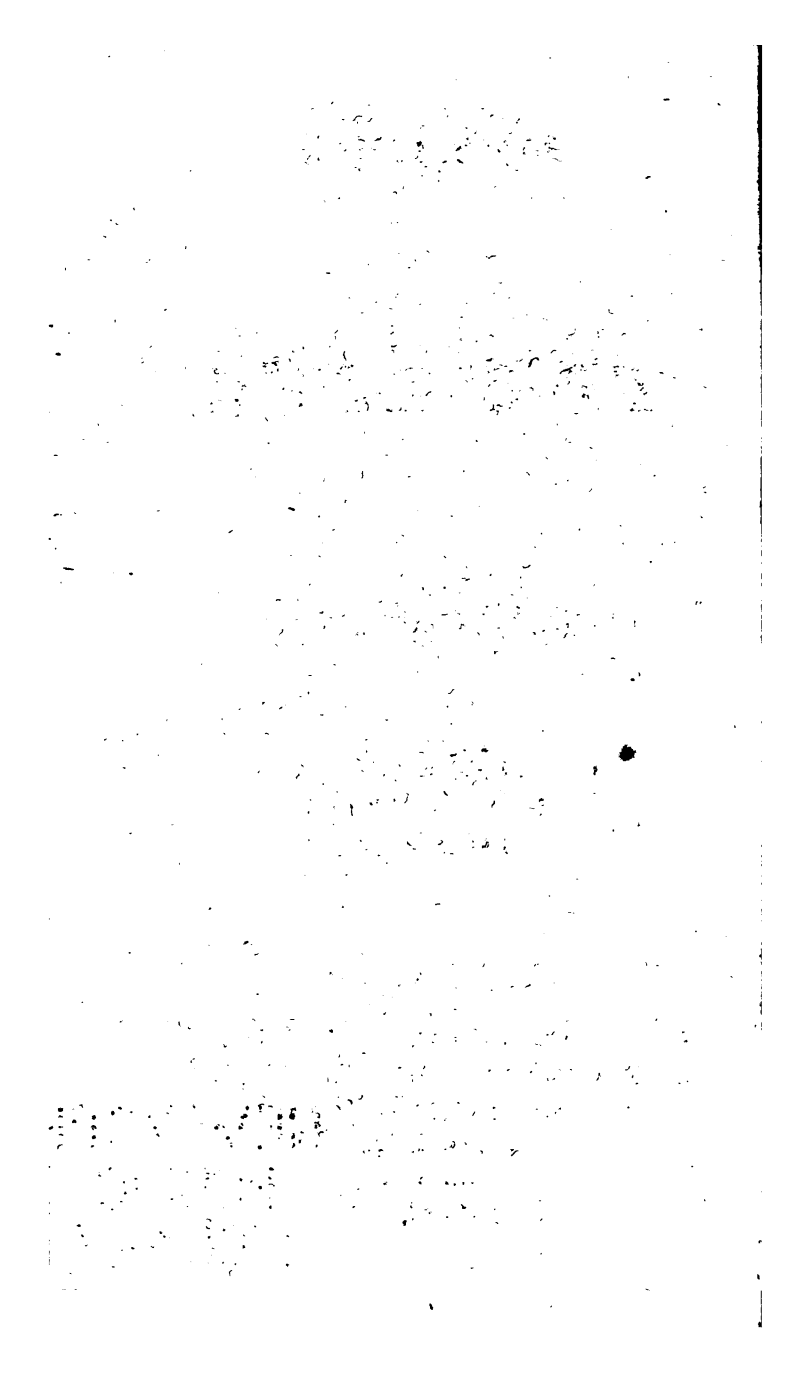

PREFACE.

THIS volume,* it will be observed, is appropriated to the life of George Fox, who was the principal instrument in the formation of our religious society. At a time when great zeal, but much unsettlement, prevailed in the religious world, this extraordinary man was peculiarly raised up, to gather a people into the patient waiting for Christ, and to an attention to his secret illuminations of the soul, by that light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. Considering him in this point of view, and apprehending that his real character is but little known, on account of the valuable journal of his life and labours, published soon after his decease, being very voluminous, it has appeared desirable that a small volume should be occupied with an account of him, selected from his own memoirs; with such additional matter, as might be in manuscript only, and suitable for publication.

In executing this work, the selection of the most interesting and valuable matter has been attended with some difficulty, on account of

* It was originally proposed by Henry Tuke, to publish a series of memoirs under the title of Biographical Notices of Members of the Society of Friends, and this volume was designed as the first of that series.

the various tastes of different readers. To some it may appear that there is too much minuteness, to others that too much valuable matter is omitted; and there may be those who will think that both these errors are committed. The author certainly does not intend to be so particular, in recording the life of any other individual; but considering that this memoir, will contain an account of the origin of our society, a particular mention of those places, which were early visited, and in which meetings were first settled, has been deemed interesting to Friends in general, and especially to those who reside at or near such places. This consideration has occasioned a pretty close attention to the route of his travels, and the notice of most of the places he has mentioned; at least in the early part of his life.

To those who may think that much valuable matter has been omitted, it may be replied, that to take in all of that description, and even to relate at length what has been selected, would have increased this volume to an unsuitable size. Many, it is presumed, will read this epitome, who would not peruse a folio volume; and it is hoped that some, after reading this, may be induced to peruse the original; in which they may be assured they will find much, not inserted here, that is interesting and instructive.

The reader will observe, in page thirty of this volume, a reference to some author, who gives an account of the practice of those who

were not considered regular ministers, preaching in the places of public worship. This has since been found in Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. 1, page 86 to 89; to which it may be sufficient to refer the reader.

From the accounts which George Fox gives of the large numbers convinced in many places, we may be led to suppose that the settled meetings of Friends must, at that time, have been very large in those places. But this does not appear to have been always the case; if we may judge from the size of those meeting-houses, which appear to have been built at or about that time. For instance, at Synderhill Green, it is said, that some thousands attended the meeting, and that there was a general convincement. This place is on the confines of Yorkshire and Derbyshire, near Handsworth Woodhouse, where a meeting-house was early built, which it is supposed could not accommodate more than two hundred persons. From this and similar circumstances, it appears that all those who are said to be convinced, did not join in strict membership with the society; but that they simply assented to the truth of the doctrines preached to them.

In the publication of this volume, the author has been, in an especial manner, desirous of attracting the attention of the youth of that society, which George Fox had been instrumental in forming, to the labours, the sufferings, and the character of this devoted servant of

Christ. To these in particular, the call of the Almighty to the Jews is affectonately recommended: "Look unto Abraham your father; I called him [when] alone, and blessed him, and increased him."

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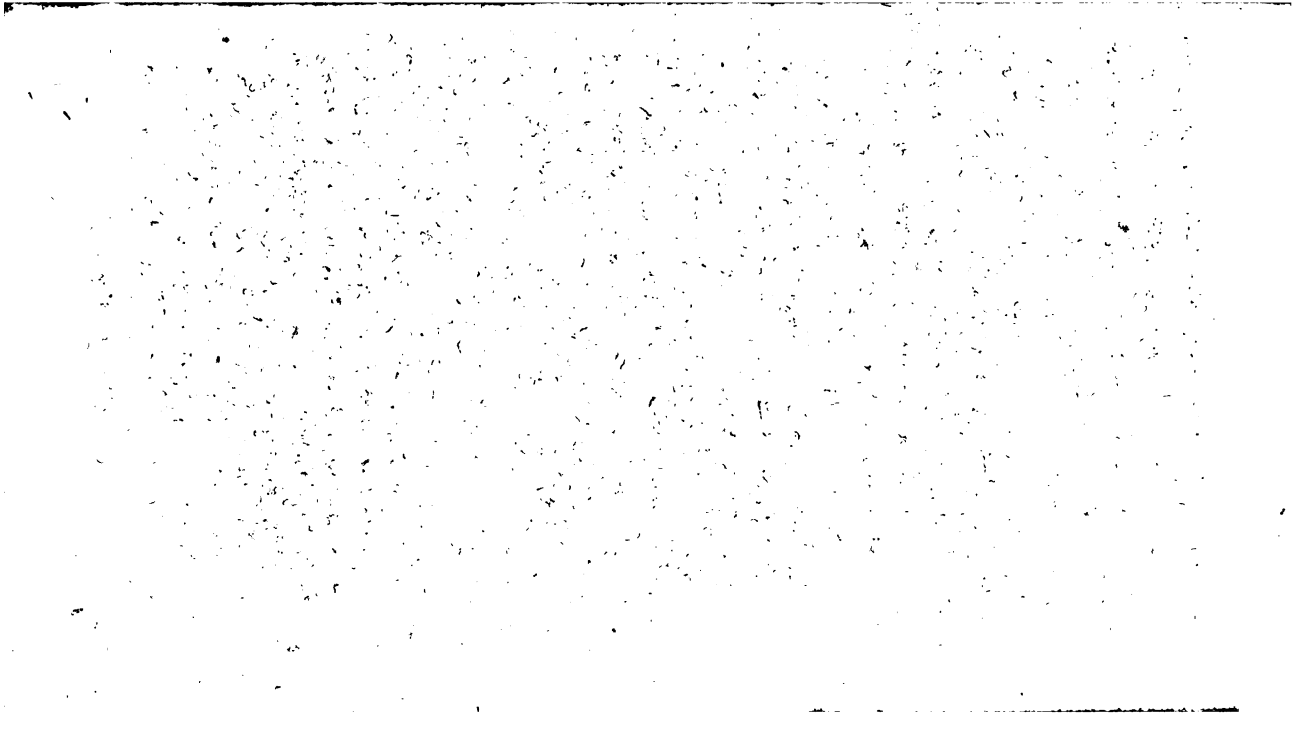


LIFE OF GEORGE FOX.

CHAPTER I.

1624 to 1641—G. F.'s Birth, Parentage, and Religious Disposition—His Serious Thoughts, Secret Exercises and Views of various Points of Christian Doctrine and Practice—His early Travels and first appearance as a Minister—with the Subjects of his Mission.

GEORGE FOX was born in the year 1624, at Drayton in the Clay, in Leicestershire. This place I suppose to be the same as is called Fenny Drayton in our modern maps. He was the son of Christopher and Mary Fox, both of whom appear to have been virtuous characters; and his father was so much esteemed by his neighbours as to be called "Righteous Christer." They would, no doubt, instruct their children in the principles of religion; but it does not appear that they gave their son much learning; yet such was the gravity of his spirit, and the purity of his manners whilst a child, that some of his relations were desirous of his being educated for the ministry. To this some of his friends objecting, he was put apprentice to a shoemaker, who was also a grazier and a dealer

in wool; but it seems George was principally employed in country business, and particularly in the care of sheep, an employment suitable to his retired disposition, and as William Penn observes, "a just figure of his after ministry and service." In this station he discharged his duties with great fidelity, and was remarkable for his veracity, and sobriety; but his tender spirit was often oppressed with the inconsistent conduct of many religious professors, and great was the trouble of his innocent mind on this account. He was at this time frequently engaged in fervent prayer, and received, as he informs us, this divine intimation: "Thou seest how young people go together into vanity, and old people into the earth: thou must forsake all, young and old; keep out of all, and be as a stranger to all."

About the twentieth year of his age, the exercise of his mind increased upon him so much, that he travelled to various parts of the country, with the hope of finding, among religious professors, some relief to his afflicted state; but for a time his conflicts of spirit continued, and he was tempted almost to despair. It does not however appear that this temptation was of long duration, though he was, in other respects, much tried and tempted for two or three years. In the course of his travels he came by Lutterworth, Northampton, Newport-Pagnel, and Barnet, to London, where he

was much affected with the general state of different religious societies, with none of whom he could freely unite. Here he heard that his relations were uneasy with his absence from home, which induced him to return to them. They seem to have been much strangers to the nature of his religious exercise; some of them proposing marriage, and others a military life, to remove that deep thoughtfulness which attended him on account of his soul's welfare, and those things which relate to the kingdom of God. During this time of sore conflict, he applied to several ministers in different places for advice and assistance, but none of them afforded any relief to his tribulated spirit.

Whilst his mind was thus exercised, he received many precious openings of divine truths, and of the nature of Christ's kingdom; one proof of which he gave in his reply to the priest of Drayton, who asked him, why Christ cried out on the cross, "My God, why hast thou forsaken me?" and why he said, "If it be possible, let this cup pass from me; yet not my will but thine be done." To this George replied: "At that time the sins of all mankind were upon Christ, and their iniquities and transgressions with which he was wounded, which he was to bear and to be an offering for, as he was man, but died not as he was God; so in that he died for all men, tasting death for every man, he was an offering for the sins of the whole world." This an-

swer greatly pleased the priest, who, at that time, highly applauded George Fox, and would frequently make use of his observations in composing his own sermons. This man, however, afterwards became one of his persecutors.

Other subjects, connected with the spirituality of the gospel dispensation, were, about this time, presented to his understanding; particularly that human learning was not only insufficient, but unnecessary, for making a minister of Christ; and that there was no extraordinary holiness in those places of religious worship, called churches, which were superstitiously regarded as "dreadful places, holy ground, and the temples of God." The great importance which was then, and has since been attached to human learning, he justly considered to be a means of preventing the free ministry of the gospel of Christ. The maintenance of the priests, which was forced from the people, whether hearers or not, appeared, to his understanding, not only inconsistent with the nature of gospel ministry, and the direction of its Author, who said to his disciples, "freely ye have received, freely give;" but he also considered it injurious to the cause of religion, by exciting in its ministers those feelings of ambition and avarice, by which their ministerial labours are often rendered fruitless, if not contemptible. But though he had great openings on these and other subjects, yet he was still liable to many temptations

and much trouble of mind, so that when it was day he wished for night, and when it was night he wished for day; but this proved a profitable dispensation, deepening him in religious experience, and enabling him to adopt the words of David: "Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge." He found the various views in which different subjects were presented to his mind, to be consistent not only with each other, but also with the Holy Scriptures, with which he appears to have been early and intimately acquainted, and for which he had a very high esteem.

Whilst in this exercised state of mind, he travelled into Warwickshire. At Coventry, in the year 1644, he took lodgings for a short time, and became acquainted with many serious tender-spirited people there. From this place he returned into Leicestershire; after which he again went into Warwickshire in the year 1645, passing by Manseter, Tamworth, and Coventry; at which places he opened his situation to some priests, high in religious profession; from whom, however, he received such advice and treatment as indicated that they were deficient in true religious experience. In the year 1646, he appears to have again taken up his residence at Coventry. The following year he went into Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. In these counties he had many discourses with some well-disposed people, and in the latter he met with a

woman named Elizabeth Hooton. This is the first person whom George Fox mentions by name, that we have reason to believe united with him, and except himself, was the first public preacher of the doctrines professed by them. Whilst in these parts, his troubles and exercises continued: he fasted much; and, with no companion but his Bible, walked abroad in solitary places till night came on. Even during the night he frequently thus spent his time in solitude, and retirement from the world; and, like the forerunner of our blessed Lord, with others who have been distinguished for eminent religious services, he was, in this state of seclusion, prepared for the services to which he appears to have been particularly called.

The troubles of this exercised man were not only attended with many religious prospects, but were also intermixed with much divine consolation. His own expressions, on this occasion, are these: "As I cannot declare the misery I was in, so neither can I set forth the mercies of God unto me, in all my misery. Oh! the everlasting love of God to my soul, when I was in great distress: when my troubles and torments were great, then was his love exceeding great. Thou, Lord! makest a fruitful field a barren wilderness, and a barren wilderness a fruitful field. Thou bringest down and settest up; thou killest and makest alive. All honour and glory be to thee, O Lord of Glory!"

The nature of the exercises into which he was introduced, and the openings which accompanied them, tended to draw him from the priests of the established church, and to look more after the Dissenters; yet he did not find amongst these that which his soul sought after, or those who could speak to the tried condition of his mind; but when all hopes from others were gone, he heard a voice, which said to him, "There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition." This produced great relief to his exercised mind, and caused his heart to leap for joy. His desires after the Lord grew stronger, and his zeal in the pure knowledge of God and of Christ alone, without the help of any man or book, increased; for though he read the scriptures, which speak of Christ, yet he knew him not savingly, but by revelation, and as the Father drew him to his Son, by his Spirit. Thus it pleased the Lord gently to lead him along and let him see that love which was eternal, surpassing all knowledge which men have in their natural state, or can obtain from books. This love frequently occupied his mind, and filled him with admiration, in contemplating its extent and infinity. Here he saw that all was done, and to be done, in and by Christ, who conquers and destroys the Devil and all his works. His heart was thus strengthened to trust in God; and hope, that anchor of the soul, stayed his often tossed mind, until he perceived that all his troubles and temptations were good

for him; tending to establish his faith on Christ, the rock of ages, and qualifying him to minister feelingly to others, who might be similarly tried.

After passing through these dispensations, he became more easy in his mind, though not altogether exempt from frequent inward sufferings; and he was soon after engaged to preach the gospel, or, as he calls it "declare the truth to others." His first appearance as a minister, unless we consider the discourses which he mentions in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, as such, took place at Duckenfield and Manchester, in the year 1647, when he was about twenty three years of age. Some persons were convinced by his ministry, and united with him in religious fellowship; which was also the case after a large meeting at Broughton, in Leicestershire, and some others in Nottinghamshire. His ministry was so powerful, and his conduct so remarkable in various respects, that people came from far and near to see him; and a person of the name of Brown, when on his death-bed, foresaw and foretold the work which George Fox would be instrumental to accomplish. These circumstances, however, excited a fear in the mind of the latter, lest he should be drawn into self-exaltation; and this fear preserved him, at this time, and many others, from being carried away by the high opinion which some persons entertained of his gifts and services. The affectionate part in us, is apt to indulge

too freely in expressions to those from whom religious benefits have been received; and it requires great care in those who are made instruments of good to others, to keep in humility, and watchfulness, and remember the query—"What hast thou that thou hast not received?" In this respect there is good reason to believe that the subject of this memoir was, from his youth, a bright example.

Having now separated himself from all religious societies, he travelled in Nottinghamshire and the neighbouring counties, taking opportunities of various kinds, by which large multitudes of people were drawn together, to turn men from darkness to the light of Christ; frequently reproving them for their vices, and occasionally disputing with those that opposed his doctrines. Such was the success of his labours, in the year 1648, and the two years preceding, that divers meetings of his friends were established; and we are told that his fellow professors were gathered to the teaching of Christ, by that light, spirit, and power which broke forth daily more and more wonderfully.

It has already been intimated, that the first motive which induced him to separate from other religious societies, was a conviction of the insufficiency of all human teaching, not under the influence of the holy Spirit, and of the sufficiency of that inward anointing which the Apostle says, teaches us

all things; so that there is no absolute necessity for those who are willing to attend to its instructions, that any man should teach them. Now also, in his going forth in religious service, he found it his duty to lay aside several complimentary practices, which he saw to be inconsistent with the simplicity of the gospel of Christ. Such were the bowing of the body, and putting off the hat, from respect to persons or places; also the use of the plural number to a single person, with other complimentary expressions. His declining these practices subjected him to much obloquy and abuse, which manifested that the source from which they sprang, was pride; otherwise their being withheld would not have produced those dispositions of resentment, which were generally manifested. There is reason to suppose, that about this time he saw into the inconsistency of war with the peaceableness of Christ's kingdom, having declined several applications to accept places in the army.

The subjects of Water Baptism, and the Sacrament (as it is called) of the Lord's Supper, also claimed his serious consideration; the result of which was, that they were no longer necessary appendages to the church of Christ, though they might have been used for a season, in condescension to the weakness of the early believers, many of whom being of the Jewish nation, were much attached to those things which were connected with

their legal ceremonies. The mind of this enlightened man however saw them to be like those carnal ordinances, which were imposed only for a season, and he not only laid aside the use of them, but endeavoured to draw the minds of his hearers to that inward and invisible grace, of which the latter is declared by its very advocates, to be only a sign; and, whilst incapable of communicating the substance of true religion, these ceremonies are often a means of inducing those who use them, to rest in the shadow. The disuse of them therefore appeared to him most consistent with the spirituality of the gospel dispensation.

Whilst in this preparatory state of mind for the religious services to which he was called, he also saw how superficially many professors read the Holy Scriptures, without applying them properly to their own states, and to that glorious dispensation of the gespel of Christ, which they prefigure, foretell, and describe. The necessity of inward holiness, and that state of perfection, which the scriptures point out, was also forcibly impressed on his mind; and as a peculiar part of his mission, he was particularly favoured to see how every man was enlightened by the divine light of Christ. This was indeed like the leading feature of his ministry; and, with the Apostle John, he could bear this testimony: "If we walk in the light as God is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the

blood of Jesus Christ his Son, cleanseth us from all sin."

The following expressions are extracted from the account which he gives of the mission which he received. "I was sent to turn people from darkness to the light, that they might receive Christ Jesus. I was to direct people to the Spirit that gave forth the scriptures, by which they might be led into all truth, and up to Christ and God, as those had been who gave them forth. I was to turn them to the grace of God, and to the truth in the heart, which came by Jesus. I saw Christ died for all men, was a propitiation for all, and enlightened all men and women with his divine and saving light. I saw that the grace of God, which brings salvation, had appeared to all men, and that the manifestation of the Spirit was given to every man to profit withal. These things I did not see by the help of man, nor by the letter, though they are written in the letter; but I saw them in the light of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by his immediate Spirit and power, as did the holy men of God, by whom the Holy Scriptures were written: yet I had no slight esteem for the Holy Scriptures; they were very precious to me, for I was in that Spirit in which they were given forth; and what the Lord opened in me, I afterwards found was agreeable to them. I could speak much of these things; but all would prove too short to set forth the infinite love,

wisdom, and power of God, in preparing me for the service he had appointed me to; letting me see the depth of Satan on the one hand, and opening to me, on the other hand, the divine mysteries of his own everlasting kingdom."

Again: "When the Lord God, and his Son Jesus Christ, sent me into the world to preach the everlasting gospel, I was glad that I was commanded to turn people to that inward light, Spirit, and grace, by which all might know their salvation and their way to God, I was to bring people off from their old ways to Christ, the new and living way; from their churches which men had gathered, to the church in God; and off from the world's teachers made by men to Christ, who is the way, the truth, and the life; and off from all the world's worships, to know the Spirit of truth, that in it they might worship the Father of Spirits, who seeks such to worship him. I was to bring them off from all the world's fellowships, prayings and singings which stood in form without power, that their fellowship might be in the Holy Ghost; that they might pray in the Holy Ghost, sing in the Spirit and with the grace that comes by Jesus, making melody in their hearts to the Lord. I was to bring people off from Jewish ceremonies, from heathenish fables, from men's inventions and windy doctrines, and from all their beggarly rudiments, with their schools and colleges for making ministers of Christ; and from

all their images and crosses, and sprinkling of infants, with their holy days, (so called) with all their vain traditions, which had got up since the apostles' days, and which the Lord's power was against; in the dread and authority of which I was moved to declare against them all, and against all that preached and not freely, as such who had not received freely from Christ."

From the views which he entertained respecting divine worship and gospel ministry, it became a necessary consequence that the religious meetings of the new society, would be frequently held either wholly or partly in silence. A state of inward retirement and waiting upon God, appeared to him essential both for the performance of true worship, and for the exercise of gospel ministry; and worship being a communication between the spiritual part of man and that Divine Being, who, we are told, is a Spirit, the vocal use of words was not considered necessary, for the performance of this important duty, according to the doctrine of our blessed Redeemer: God is a Spirit; and they that worship him, must worship him in Spirit and in Truth.

CHAPTER II.

1649 to 1651—Many convinced by his Ministry—Preaches in Places of Public Worship—Imprisoned at Nottingham, but soon released—Long Imprisonment at Derby—Many remarkable Circumstances occur there.

FROM the foregoing description of George Fox's mission, it may reasonably be expected that much hostility would be excited against him, particularly by those with whose worldly interests his doctrine interfered. Indeed not only the priests, but magistrates and others manifested great opposition to those practices and doctrines which he inculcated. Great were the sufferings which he and his friends underwent; but although this was the case, yet many were made sensible of the rectitude of their testimony, and considerable additions were made to the number of those who, being convinced of the truths preached, were willing to make public profession of them, notwithstanding the reproach and sufferings which they induced.

Besides the doctrines which he publicly taught, was much engaged in private admonition to ple in different stations of life, to promote the scharge of their respective duties. Judges of the , justices of the peace and other magistrates;

parents of children, masters of servants, and schoolmasters, were all the subjects of his concern and labour of love; nor did those in the inferior departments of life escape his notice, for the promotion of their best interests. He also publicly testified against wakes, feasts, may-games, sports, plays, music and the public exhibitions of mountebanks; considering these diversions as being calculated to destroy that religion and virtue which are essential to the true happiness of man, both here and hereafter. In fairs and markets he was also led to warn the people against fraud and deceit; exhorting them to deal justly, to speak the truth, and to do to others as they would have others do to them. Thus, in his labours, he united a concern both for religious and moral principle, which he seems to have carried with him through life.

The nature of his religious exercise sometimes led him to attend the places of public worship, against a superstitious reverence for which, and the conduct of those who ministered in them, his zeal was very strong; and once, at Nottingham, led him to interrupt a priest whilst preaching, conceiving him to be perverting a text of Scripture. But though his mind was frequently drawn to embrace these opportunities of publishing his doctrines, his general practice was to wait till the public service was over, and then endeavour to relieve his mind.

In those times this appears to have been not an uncommon practice, and I have seen it mentioned as such in some history. The consequence of his zeal at Nottingham, was, that he was seized and put into a filthy prison. This, however, proved the means of spreading his principles, and one of the sheriffs of Nottingham, John Reckles, with his wife, were convinced by the discourse which they had with George Fox; and several priests also confessed to the power of the Lord which accompanied his ministry. At Nottingham he was committed to prison, where it appears he continued for a few months; and having liberty, at times, to go into the town, he employed it in promulgating those doctrines which he apprehended himself called to preach.

After his liberation, he came to Mansfield-Woodhouse, where, in consequence of exhorting the priest and people in their place of worship, he was seized and put into the stocks for several hours; but being afterwards taken before some magistrates, he was, after much threatening, set at liberty. The rude people stoned him out of the town, by which he was much injured, but soon recovered the effects of his blows and wounds. Notwithstanding this treatment, the cause which he had espoused gained ground, and that day several "were convinced of the Lord's truth, and turned to his teaching."

From Mansfield he came through Leicestershire to Coventry, in order to visit some persons who, he had heard, were imprisoned there on account of religion. He did not find them such as he expected; but as he was walking to the jail, his soul was inwardly saluted with the following words: "My love was always to thee, and thou art in my love." On this he remarks, "I was ravished with the sense of the love of God, and greatly strengthened in my inward man."

Travelling by Atherstone, Market-Bosworth, Twycross, Chesterfield, and Kidsey-Park, and meeting with such rude treatment, he came to Derby about the year 1650. Here he was engaged to preach to the people after the usual service was finished; many of the army and clergy being present. Whilst preaching, he did not meet with much interruption; but was afterwards taken, with two of his friends, before the magistrates, and underwent an examination of about eight hours. Among other questions they asked him if any of them were Christ? To which George Fox answered, "Nay, we are nothing, Christ is all." It is proper to be the more particular in mentioning this question, with the answer, because it has frequently been alleged against George Fox, and some of our ancient Friends, that they assumed the character of Christ, of which this is a complete confutation. The charge was often repeated afterwards, and as often denied.

After having wearied themselves with this tedious examination, the magistrates committed George Fox and one of those who were with him, to the House of Correction for six months, as blasphemers; with what reason it is difficult to conceive; but, at this time, party spirit was extremely violent, both in religion and politics. The kingly government had been lately abolished, by the execution of Charles the First, and the Commonwealth, instead of affording an increase of religious toleration, at least equalled their predecessors in violence and persecution. Though they might be sincere in the professions which they had made, yet their passions had become so inflamed with a spirit of animosity, probably heightened by their success over the opposite party, that they lost all appearance of consistency, and liberty of conscience was restrained as much at least, as it had been in those times of which they complained. In forming an estimate of character at this period, all parties should make considerable allowances for the temper of the times; and although George Fox and his friends were so far from persecution, that they would very rarely take advantage of the law, by prosecuting their enemies for their cruel and illegal conduct, yet perhaps it would be too much to say that their zeal never exceeded its proper bounds.

He continued in the House of Correction at Derby, for six months, after which time he was

nearly six months longer in the County Jail. During this time, several incidents occurred which are worthy of notice. The keeper of the prison was, at first, greatly enraged against him, and spoke wickedly of him; but he soon became much troubled for his conduct, and George overheard him saying to his wife, "I have seen the day of judgment, and I saw George there, and I was afraid of him, because I have done him so much wrong, and have spoken so much against him to the ministers and professors, and to the justices, and in taverns and alehouses." After this, he came into George's chamber, and said to him, "I have been as a lion against you; but now I come like a lamb, and like the jailer that came to Paul and Silas trembling." He also acknowledged that he and his house had been plagued for George's sake; of which he next day informed the justices, one of whom said that the plagues were upon them too. A sister also of the jailer went to visit George. To her he communicated some religious advice, which had a good effect on her mind, and she said respecting him and his friends, that "they were an innocent people, who did none any hurt, but did good to all, even to those that hated them."

These circumstances produced some lenity in the minds of the justices, who gave leave for him to walk to the distance of a mile; the intent of

which appears to have been, that he might have opportunity to escape, which they supposed he would readily embrace; but in this they were mistaken, his upright principle not permitting him to accept his liberty in this way.

Whilst he was confined in the House of Correction, his relations came to visit him, and offered, with others of Derby, to be bound that he should come there no more to declare against the priests; but to this he could not consent, not only because the condition was such as he could not agree to, but because he was innocent of any improper conduct which required a bond for his future behaviour. This greatly enraged justice Bennett, whose violent conduct induced George to pray for forgiveness for him. Whilst he was on his knees, Bennett ran violently upon him, and struck him with both his hands, crying, "Away with him, jailer, take him away, jailer." He was now brought back to the prison, where he continued the remainder of the six months; but having the liberty of walking a mile, he sometimes went into the market and streets, warning the people to repent of their wickedness; and there being persons of different religious professions in the prison, he occasionally visited them in their meetings.

When the time fixed for his imprisonment was nearly expired, strong attemps were made, to in-

duce him to accept a captaincy in the army; and the soldiers even said they would have none but him. The commissioners also offered him that preferment, and even pressed it upon him, but their endeavours were in vain. He told them that he knew whence all wars arose, even from the lusts, according to the doctrine of the apostle James: and that he lived in the virtue of that life and power, which took away the occasion of war. When they found that their importunities were in vain, they became angry, and ordered the jailer to take him away, and put him amongst rogues and felons. The prison in which he was confined was a most noisome place, infested with filthy vermin. There were thirty felons in it, and not a single bed to sleep on. Here he was confined nearly half a year more, with liberty occasionally to walk in the garden.

During his confinement, there was in the jail, a woman who was committed for robbing her master. For her George Fox interfered so far, as to write to the judge and jury, stating how contrary it was to the law of God, in old time, to put people to death for stealing; and pressing them to show mercy to the poor woman. She was, however, condemned to die, and actually taken to the place of execution. George Fox, not being able to be present, wrote a paper, which he desired to

be read to the people, warning them against covetousness; and those vices, which lead to so disgraceful a termination of life. The woman though on the ladder, with her face covered, was reprieved, and brought back to prison; and such, it seems, was the effect of George Fox's labours for her good, that she was convinced of the truth of the doctrines which he taught.

The subject of punishment by death, for crimes affecting property only, seems to have closely engaged his attention whilst a prisoner here; and he not only wrote to the judges on this subject, but also on the long confinement of prisoners before they were brought to trial. His capacious mind seems to have embraced almost every subject connected with the happiness of man; and the justness and liberality of his views were extraordinary. Justice and mercy he often pressed closely on those persons in high stations, who had the administration of them; and when they deviated from their duty, he frequently reproved them, and advised them to a different conduct. Whilst in prison at Derby, he addressed many short but pertinent exhortations and warnings to the priests and magistrates who had been the means of his imprisonment. The wickedness that prevailed in the town of Derby deeply affected his mind, and he warned the inhabitants of the consequences of their conduct.

Being now deprived of the opportunity of travelling, he published two or three papers, to be spread among his friends and others, to instruct and confirm them in the principles which he was concerned to promulgate. Thus did this diligent labourer in the gospel of Christ lose no opportunity of promoting the cause of truth and righteousness on earth.

It was while he was prisoner at Derby, or perhaps at his first examination, that the name of Quakers was given to him and his friends. He was exhorting Gervas Bennett, already mentioned, and some other persons who were in company, to tremble at the word of the Lord; on which Bennet contemptuously called the friends of George Fox, Quakers, by which name they have since that time been distinguished.

The magistrates not being able to accomplish any of their objects by imprisonment, and growing uneasy with their conduct towards their prisoner, devised various means for liberating; but not agreeing among themselves, they at length turned him out of jail in as irregular and arbitrary a manner as they had detained him. This was in the early part of the winter of 1651.

About eleven years after his release, he received the following letter from the keeper of the

House of Correction, which, though not in the order of time, may most properly be introduced here. It manifests the beneficial effects of that patient suffering and faithful labour, in the cause of truth and righteousness, which remarkably characterised the life of this innocent man.

"DEAR FRIEND,

"Having such a convenient messenger, I could do no less than give thee an account of my present condition; remembering that to the first awakening of me to a sense of life, and of the inward principle, God was pleased to make use of thee as an instrument; so that sometimes I am taken with admiration, that it should come by such a means as it did; that is to say, that Providence should order thee to be my prisoner, to give me my first real sight of the truth. It makes me many times think of the Jailer's coversion by the Apostles. O happy George Fox! that first breathed that breath of life within the walls of my habitation.

"Notwithstanding my outward losses are, since that time, such that I am become nothing in the world; yet I hope I shall find, that all these light afflictions, which are but for a moment, will work for me a far e and exceeding weight of glory. They have :n all from me; and now, instead of keeping a son, I am rather waiting when I shall become a isoner myself. Pray for me that my faith fail not; that I may hold out to the death, that I may re-'e a crown of life

"I earnestly desire to hear from thee, and of thy condition, which would very much rejoice me. Not having else at present, but my kind love to thee, and all Christian Friends with thee, in haste, I rest

Thine in Christ Jesus,

THOMAS SHARMAN."

"*Derby*, 22*d of the* 4*th Month*, 1662."

CHAPTER III.

1651 and 1652.—Extraordinary concern at Litchfield. Travels through Nottinghamshire into Yorkshire, &c. where there are great convincements.

AFTER George Fox was liberated from his confinement at Derby, he travelled again in his religious engagements. At Litchfield he was concerned to go without his shoes through the streets of the city, and to cry, "Wo to the bloody city of Litchfield." So strong was an impression of some extraordinary circumstance upon his mind, that as he passed along, there appeared to be a channel of blood running down the streets, and the market place was like a pool of blood. After this engagement, he was thoughtful what could be the cause of his concern, not knowing of any circumstance which should warrant so singular a declaration; but he afterwards understood, that during the reign of the Emperor Dioclesian, above 1000 Christians were put to death in this place, from which it obtained its present name, signifying the Field of Dead Bodies. Such was the sensibility that attended the mind of this exercised man, that circumstances of this kind frequently affected him in different places, in the course of his journies.*

* The relation of this singular concern at Litchfield, has been censured, because it seems to imply some punishment on the inhabitants, for a crime which had been perpetrated

Continuing his travels, he came through Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire into Yorkshire, and preached repentance through the streets of Doncaster and several other places. At Balby, near Doncaster, he continued awhile, and Richard Farnsworth, with several others, was convinced there. Afterwards he visited Wakefield, Selby, and Beverley. At Selby, he seems to have parted with his horse, and travelled on foot. At Beverley, he went to the public place of worship, and after the Minister had finished his sermon, George was concerned to speak to him and the people, in order to turn them to the true teacher, Christ Jesus. Here he met with no material molestations, but passed quietly out of the town and went to another place of worship, where he met with a kind reception, and the people desired him to

many centuries before, by Heathens on Christians. But I do not consider the word, Wo, as always conveying a denunciation of judgment. On examining Bailey's Dictionary, I find, he explains Wo, by "grief, trouble, sorrow." Dr. Johnson gives the same satisfaction, with other meanings of the word; and he also notices it, as an exclamation of sorrow. In this sense, and as relating to the past, rather than the future. George Fox no doubt used the expression. This appears clear from the context, for he himself explains what he apprehended was the cause of his using the words in question, and which he imputes to the circumstance already mentioned. There is nothing in his own account, which conveys any apprehension in him, that some judgments would fall upon the place, for this massacre; but it simply conveys the sympathetic feelings of his tender mind.

come again, and preach among them. Next day he went to Captain Pursloe's at Cranswick, whom he had also visited at his house near Selby. He seems very much to have favoured George Fox, and accompanied him to several places in this neighbourhood. He also introduced him to Justice Hotham, who was a man of religious experience, and proved very friendly to George, on various occasions. Whilst they were at his house, a woman of quality came to the Justice on business; and in the course of conversation, told him, that "the last Sabbath day, there was an angel or spirit came into the church at Beverley, and spake the wonderful things of God, to the astonishment of all that were there; and when it had done, it passed away, and they did not know whence it came nor whither it went; but it astonished all, priests, professors, and magistrates." This the Justice related to George, who informed him that he had been that day at Beverley, and had preached to the people there.

In the course of his travels, he came to York, where he found several persons seriously disposed, and ready to receive his doctrine. Whilst in this city, he went to the Cathedral, on a First-day; and when the priest had finished his sermon, George told them that he had something to communicate. The weather being cold, he was desired to speak quickly; on which he said, that "this was the word of the Lord to them, that they lived in words,

but God Almighty looked for fruits amongst them." He was not suffered to proceed, but was immediately taken out of the place, and thrown down the steps, yet was not materially injured. After finishing his service here, he travelled into Cleveland. In his way thither, he came to Borrowby, where many people were convinced, and a large meeting was established. In Cleveland, he found a people who had tasted of the divine power, but not waiting in patience and humility, though there had been large meetings of them, they were much scattered, and the heads of them turned Ranters.* Amongst these people he was concerned to labour for their restoration. Most of them were convinced of the truth of his doctrines, and a meeting was established.

It was now the depth of winter, in the year 1651, and the snow was very deep; but such was his zeal, that he continued travelling. At Stathes, near Whitby, he had some large meetings; and many received the truth; amongst whom was a man of 100 years of age, the chief constable, and a priest of the name of Philip Scaife. Here he was concerned to reprove the priest of the parish, for exacting tithe money for fish caught at a dis-

*The Ranters in the beginning, had the name of Seekers, and were at first a serious, humble-minded people; but becoming exalted in their imaginations, they ran into many extravagancies of opinion and practice, which caused them to have the name of Ranters.

tance, and carried to another port. He had also a public dispute with a Scotch priest, and some Ranters, which afforded him an opportunity of preaching to the people, and promulgating his doctrine. The Scotch priest was greatly enraged, and manifested a design against the life of George Fox. A few years afterwards, both this priest and his wife were convinced, and George visited them at their own house, the next time he came into these parts, which was in the year 1663. Great was the commotion which was excited among the priests in particular; and when they heard of George Fox coming among them, they would frequently go out of the way, though they might before have boasted of what they would do when he came. To use his own expressions, "They were struck with the dread of the eternal power of God, and fear surprised the hypocrites."

He next visited Whitby and Scarborough, where large meetings were soon after settled. Afterwards he came to Malton, taking part of the Wolds on his way. Here, and in the neighbourhood, he continued some time, and many joined him in religious fellowship, some of whom had entertained considerable prejudice against him; for the report of him had spread greatly in the country. One woman, who was a high professor among the Independents, was so inveterate, before he came there, that she said she would willingly go to see him hanged; but after he came she was

convinced, and continued a Friend. At Malton he went into the usual place of worship, where the priest was preaching to no more than eleven hearers; but after it was known that George Fox was gone there, the place was soon filled. After the Priest had finished, George was invited into the pulpit, which he thought proper to decline, and desiring all to be quiet, he stepped upon a high seat, and there delivered what he had to say, without any interruption; after which he departed in peace.

Leaving Malton, he came to Pickering at the time of the Sessions, Justice Robinson being chairman. Whilst the business of the Sessions was transacting, George had a meeting in the school-house, to which many priests and others came. Four chief constables and one priest were convinced. This, it is most probable, was the priest of Pickering. He was a great favourite with the Justice, who was soon informed of the circumstance. The next morning George went with the four chief constables and some others, to visit Justice Robinson, who received him very kindly, and acknowledged the rectitude of that religious instruction which George communicated. At parting, the Justice spake encouragingly to him, saying, "It was very well that he should exercise the gift which God had given him." He also desired the constables to give George some money, which he offered to them for that purpose, wishing him not

to be at any expence in their county; but they told him that they could not prevail on George to accept any money from them, which they had already offered. Yet though he declined accepting the money; he gratefully acknowledged the justice's kindness.

Great was the openness with which he was received in these parts. At one place the bells were ringing, when he came to it, of which he inquiring the cause, was told that it was for him to preach. After some deliberation, he concluded to go to the steeple-house, and was invited in; but seeing the people gathered in the yard, he preferred preaching to them there. All was quiet, and a great convincement took place. At another town in the neighbourhood, he sat some hours in silence before he began to preach; and such was the power which afterwards attended his ministry, that the people were generally reached, and brought to acknowledge the truth of his doctrine. An ancient priest, who was among those who had been convinced by George Fox's ministry, accompanied him awhile, and as they were passing along the road, some people called out, "Mr. Boyes, we owe you some money for tithes, pray come and take it;" but he threw up his hands and said, he had enough, they might keep it, and he praised the Lord that he had enough.

After travelling some time, he came again to

Captain Pursloe's, and Justice Hotham's, where he met with a kind reception; and they expressed their satisfaction with the success of his gospel labours. The Justice said to him, that if God had not raised up that principle of light and life, which he preached, the nation would have been overrun with Ranterism; with more to the same purpose.

He now went into Holderness, having meetings at several places till he came to Patrington. Here he preached to the priest and people in the street; and when it grew dark, he went to an inn, where he was refused both meat and lodging; which was also the case at two other houses. Upon this he took a little water at a ditch, and sat down among the furze bushes till it was day. When he departed from this place the next morning, he was followed by a man with a pikestaff, to a neighbouring town, and this man raised the constables and inhabitants, to whom, however, George declared the truth, and exhorted them to repentance; but they seized him, and took him back to Patrington. Here one of the inhabitants gave him some milk and bread, which would no doubt be very grateful, he having eaten nothing for some days before. After this, he was taken to a Justice of the Peace, who having examined him, soon set him at liberty, and he returned to Patrington, where he had further religious service, without any molestation. Many were convinced of the truth, and continued faithful

witnesses of it. After going to the extremity of Holderness, and having meetings at several places, with his usual success, he returned again to Patrington, when some who had been the means of his being brought before the Justice, came and asked forgiveness, which George freely gave, at the same time warning them to amend their lives. Justice Hotham had already interfered in his favour, and asked him whether any had abused him; but says George, "I was not to tell him any thing of that kind, but was to forgive all." This performance of the duty of forgiveness, on all occasions, forms an excellent trait in the character of George Fox, and shewed that he had learned in the school of him, who, when suffering on the cross, prayed for his persecutors, "Father forgive them, they know not what they do."

CHAPTER IV.

1652—Visits several places in Westmoreland and Lancashire. His first visit at Judge Fell's, Swathmore Hall. Is cruelly treated at the Isle of Walney. Predicts the Dissolution of the Long Parliament.

FROM Yorkshire, George Fox went to Firbank Chapel, in Westmoreland: near which, on a first day afternoon, he had a large meeting. Above 1000 people were supposed to be present, to whom he preached about three hours, opening to them the types and shadows of the law, and the predictions of the prophets, and directing them to Christ the substance; many of whose parables and sayings, with the writings of the Apostles, he also explained. The Lord's power accompanying his ministry, it reached the hearts of the people, many of whom were convinced, including all the teachers of that congregation, who it seems were Independents. Among them were Francis Howgill, and John Audland. With the latter George Fox went home; and the next day he held another large meeting at Preston-Patrick Chapel, from which place he went to Kendal. Here a meeting was appointed in the Town Hall, in which his ministry was attended with the usual success. At Underborrow, and at Crook, many, to use his own

words, "were convinced, received the word of life, and stood fast in it, under the teaching of Christ Jesus." Among these, it appears, was Edward Burrough, with whom George had much reasoning, previously to the meeting.

Leaving Westmoreland, he came to Newton in Cartmel, which is in Lancashire. Here he met with some rude treatment, in attempting to preach after the priest had finished; but John Brathwaite, a young man who was taking down the priest's sermon, was effectually reached, and became a minister of the gospel. Many, in this part of the country, received the truth, and abode in it. Soon after this, he came to Ulverstone, and went to Swarthmore, about a mile distant, to judge Fell's. This place is memorable for many circumstances which will be detailed in his future history. Here he met with a priest of the name of Lampit, high, it seems, in notion, but dark in understanding. With him George had much controversy at Swarthmore. At one part of the dispute, Margaret Fell (the judge's wife) was present, and her eyes were opened, to see beyond the priest and his doctrine, so that she and her family were in some degree convinced. The judge, at this time, was from home, on the Welch circuit. A day being appointed for a public humiliation, George Fox found his mind engaged to attend the place of public worship at Ulverstone. When he entered the house,

Lampit, the priest, was singing with the people, which George considered so unsuitable to their states, that he spake to the priest and people what he felt on his mind. A justice present called to have him taken away, but Margaret Fell interfered in his favour, and he was permitted to speak awhile longer; but being afterwards taken out, he finished his communication in the grave yard.

He continued a considerable time in the neighbourhood of Swarthmore, frequently returning to that place as his head quarters. At Ramside he met with Thomas Lawson, a priest of considerable eminence. He kindly offered Geo. Fox his chapel, and having informed the people in the morning that George was coming there in the afternoon, the priest did not attempt to preach himself. It appears to have been a memorable meeting. Many received the truth in the love of it, among whom Thomas Lawson was one; who thereupon ceased to preach for hire, and afterwards preached the Lord Jesus and his kingdom freely. After this George went to Dalton, and to the island of Walney, where, among others, James Lancaster was convinced; as was Leonard Fell at Becliff. He next went to Gleaston, where he had a quiet peaceable meeting in a new chapel, that had not before been used. Here again many were convinced by his ministry.

Returning again to Swarthmore, several of the family were fully convinced of the truth of his

doctrines. Leaving them for a short time, he went again into Westmoreland, and to the borders of Yorkshire, where he had large meetings among those who had already received his ministry; but being informed of the return of judge Fell to his own house, he felt inclined to go again to Swarthmore. The priests and others had endeavoured to incense the judge against him; but when George came, he explained matters so much to the judge's satisfaction, and so fully answered all his objections, that he became fully satisfied of the rectitude of George Fox's ministry; and, after some time, he declined going to hear the priests, though he did not fully join in religious fellowship with Friends. His house, however, was always open for their reception, and he frequently used his influence to check the persecuting spirit, which was manifested by some magistrates and priests in those parts. To his wife and four daughters, who, being fully convinced, had joined in society with George Fox and his friends, the judge allowed full liberty to act consistently with the principles which they had imbibed; and he treated them with great kindness. He even permitted a meeting to be established at his house, which continued to be held there nearly forty years.

After the establishment of the meeting at Swarthmore, George came again to Underbarrow, and went thence to Kellet, whence he had a large

meeting at Robert Widders's, to which several came from Lancaster, and some from York; and many were again convinced. Coming to Lancaster on the market-day, he embraced that opportunity of preaching to the people. "I preached (he says) righteousness and truth unto them, which all should follow after, walk and live in; directing them how and where they might find the Spirit of God to guide them thereinto." At Lancaster he had several religious opportunities, and many received his testimony, and continued faithful to the truth, though he met with some rude treatment in this town. At a place in this neighbourhood, a doctor was so irritated against him, as to say that he "could find in his heart to run him through with his rapier, though he was to be hanged for it the next day." This man, however, was so far convinced, that he became kind to Friends. In this and many other instances, in the life of George Fox, we see the fulfilment of the gospel prophecy: "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb; and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion, and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them."

Returning into Westmoreland, he came again to Kendal and Underbarrow, and afterwards to Swarthmore. Here and at Ulverstone he was much engaged in preaching, and in disputations with the priests. One of them, Thomas Taylor,

an ancient man, was convinced; and the day after his convincement, at Crosland, where he went with George Fox, he was engaged to preach publicly amongst the people, and, like the good scribe, brought out of the treasury things new and old. His brother, Christopher Taylor, likewise a preacher, was also convinced, and became a minister among Friends. Many were now sent forth on the same religious service, among whom George Fox mentions John Audland, Francis Howgill, John Camm, Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn, Miles Hubbersty, and Miles Halhead; in consequence of whose labours, meetings were established in various parts of the nation.

Whilst some of the priests were brought into a right sense of the nature of gospel ministry, others appeared much disturbed in their minds, and endeavoured to excite the magistrates to persecution; but though some of George Fox's friends were sent to prison, he still retained his liberty, and continued his gospel labours in these parts with great success. Some of the priests pretended to prophecy, that within a month the Quakers would be all scattered and come to nothing; but the sequel proved that their predictions were dictated by their animosity, and not by the Spirit of Truth.

At Ulverstone he met with much cruel treatment at the instigation of justice Sawrey, who

seems to have been the first promoter of persecution in the North. George was preaching to the people, who heard him quietly and gladly, till the justice incensed them against him; when the ruder part of them seized him, and by the justice's order he was dragged out of the town. There, after being severely beaten till he was senseless, he fell on the wet common, and continued in that situation for some time. When he recovered, he lay still awhile, and was favoured to feel divine refreshment to his soul. Rising up, he said to the people about him, "Strike again, here are my arms, my head, and my cheeks." One man, a mason, was rude enough to strike him a severe blow with his rule on the hand. The people afterwards quarrelled among themselves, and George, notwithstanding all their cruel treatment, was strengthened to preach unto them, endeavouring to convince them of the impropriety of their conduct, and its inconsistency with true christianity. He returned soon to Ulverstone, and went into the market, when a soldier with his rapier, offered to protect him, but George declined it, and seeing the soldier endeavouring to defend some other friends with his drawn rapier, he prevailed on him to withdraw, lest some mischief should occur. Going to Swarthmore, George found the family there occupied in dressing the wounds of several Friends who had been hurt that day by the enraged populace. He was himself much bruised

by the abuse which he had met with, but does not seem to have been otherwise injured.

In reading the memoirs of this excellent man, the mind is unavoidably struck with the courage, patience, and meekness with which he bore the cruel treatment that he often received. Soon after the foregoing circumstance, he went to the Isle of Walney a second time, where the barbarous people treated him and his companions in a shocking manner. At one town the people came upon him with pitchforks, flails, and staves, crying, "Kill him, knock him on the head, bring the cart, and carry him away to the church-yard." He was so much abused, that after walking to the house of a friend, he could scarcely speak. James Naylor, who was with him, also suffered much on this occasion. Margaret Fell, hearing of the cruel treatment they had met with, sent a horse for George to ride on to her house; but it was with great difficulty and pain that he could bear the motion of the horse. After his return to Swarthmore, judge Fell sent warrants to apprehend some of those riotous persons, and desired George to give him a relation of their abusive conduct; but this he declined, and the judge told his wife, that he spake of it as a man that had not been concerned. "Indeed (says George) the Lord's power healed me."

When he returned from the Isle of Walney, he found that two justices had issued a warrant

against him, the execution of which was prevented by judge Fell. George hearing of the warrant, came to the sessions at Lancaster, where forty priests appeared against him. They had provided one young priest and two priests' sons, to bear witness that they had heard him speak blasphemy; but when they came before the court, they could not support their charge, which produced a reprimand from the bench. Several respectable persons were in court, who had been present when the pretended blasphemous words were said to have been spoken, and they declared there that the oath which the witnesses had taken, was altogether false. The justices were fully convinced of George Fox's innocency, and one of them, colonel West, said to him in open court, "George, if thou hast any thing to say, thou mayest freely declare it." This gave him an opportunity which he found it right to embrace; and though some opposition was made by a few of the priests, yet he was enabled so to confute them, that they left the court in a rage. George Fox was fully cleared of the charges brought against him, the malice of the priests was exposed, and a great convincement took place. Among the number convinced was justice Benson, of Westmoreland, and major Ripan, the mayor of Lancaster.

After staying two or three days at Lancaster, where he met with some rude treatment, he left

the place; and returned to it at the time of the assizes, when the priests, assisted by some evil-disposed justices, endeavoured to influence judge Windham against him. They were so far successful, that the judge made a speech in open court, and ordered colonel West, who was clerk of the assize, to issue a warrant for his apprehension. This the colonel refused, and the judge commanding him either to write the warrant, or leave his seat, he again refused, and told the judge that he would offer up all his estate, and body also, in support of George Fox. This put the Judge to a stand, and defeated the object of those who had so improperly influenced him. George, soon after he came to Lancaster, went to the chambers of judge Fell and colonel West, who smiled at him, and one of them said, "What! are you come into the dragon's mouth?" He staid in the town till the judge left it, walking the streets publicly, but no one laid hands on him. "Thus (says he) the Lord's blessed power which is over all, carried me through and over this exercise, gave dominion over his enemies, and enabled me to go on in his glorious work and service, for his great name's sake."

Leaving Lancaster, he came to Robert Widder's, and had a large meeting at Thomas Leper's, after which he narrowly escaped a plot which had been laid for his life. Calling at justice (or colonel) West's in the way, he came again to Swarthmore,

visiting his friends, and writing letters to magistrates, priests, and others thereaway, reproving them, and exhorting them to repentance and amendment of life. Having cleared his mind by these epistles, he returned into Westmoreland, where he was again waylaid, with a design, it appears, to take his life, but he was preserved from the snare. He had several disputes with the priests, two of whom attempted to prove that the Scriptures were the Word of God. George admitted that they were the Words of God, but not, as one of them asserted, "God the Word," which was Christ. The priests were unable to prove their assertion, and many of the people saw the errors of their teachers.

About the beginning of the year 1653, he returned again to Swarthmore, and visited several meetings in Lancashire. One day, when judge Fell and justice Benson were conversing on the state of public affairs, and particularly respecting the long parliament, which was then sitting, George Fox, who was present, told them, that before that day two weeks, the parliament would be broken up, and the speaker plucked from the chair. This was literally verified, and justice Benson told judge Fell that he now perceived George was a prophet, Cromwell having broke up the parliament within the time mentioned.

CHAPTER V.

1653—Fasts ten Days—Visits Cumberland—Anthony Pearson and many others are convinced—Is arrested at Carlisle, and committed to Prison—After his Liberation, goes into Westmoreland, Durham, and Northumberland.

IT appears that George Fox was sometimes in the practice of fasting, when his mind was particularly exercised. About this time he was engaged to fast for ten days, on account of two of his friends getting up into pride and self-exaltation, and running out into imaginations: but through his labour with them, they were brought to see their error, and to condemn it.

Hearing that some persons in Cumberland threatened, that if he came there, they would take away his life, he felt his mind drawn to go thither, and went directly into those parts from which the threatenings came, regardless of the danger to which he was exposed; but when he came there, they had no power to touch him. He returned again into Lancashire, and being on a visit at colonel West's, he was informed that Anthony Pearson, a justice of the peace for three counties, was at Swarthmore. The colonel advised George to go there, saying, "it may be of great service

to the man;" accordingly he went, and Anthony Pearson was effectually reached by his ministry. Soon after, he and his wife accompanied George to Bootle, in Cumberland; where Anthony left him, and went to the sessions at Carlisle. At Bootle, George went into the place of public worship, and when the priest had done, began to speak; but the people were very rude, and beat him violently; this however did not deter him from going to the same place in the afternoon. A priest from London, of great repute, was preaching when George went in; and applying what is said in the scriptures, respecting false prophets, antichrists, and deceivers, to him and his friends. When the priest had finished, George, repeating the same scriptures, showed their applicability to the priest, and to such as him. The priest interrupting him, and forbidding him to speak, George replied to him, that, he having his hour glass, by which he had preached and finished his sermon, the time was now as free for one as for the other, both of them being strangers. After this, George had a full opportunity to communicate what he had to say to the people. When he had finished, the priests manifested much anger, and some others were mischievously disposed, but none were permitted to injure him.

Whilst at Bootle, he sent to have a meeting appointed near Cockermouth, which was largely

attended. It proved an extraordinary opportunity; many hundreds were convinced, who received the Lord Jesus Christ, and his free teaching, with gladness. Among them were twelve soldiers and their wives. On the First-day following, George was at Cockermouth, where, when he attempted to speak after the priest, the people began to be rude; but the soldiers informing them that no law was broken, they became quiet, and George Fox declared to them the way of life and truth, directing them to Christ their teacher, who died for them, and bought them with his blood. In the afternoon, he went to Brigham, where great companies followed him. Being invited into the worship house, and seeing no other convenient place, he accepted it. "A fine opportunity," says he, "the Lord gave me to preach the truth that day, for about three hours; and all was quiet; many hundreds were convinced, and some of them praised God, and said, "Now we know the first step to peace."

Several circumstances occurred about this time, which evinced that he had a peculiar gift of discerning the spirits of those he met with; one of which it may be sufficient to relate. Seeing a woman at a distance, he cast his eyes upon her, and said, "Thou hast been a harlot." She replied, that "many could tell her of her outward

sins, but none of her inward:" to which he answered, that her heart was not right before the Lord, and from the inward came the outward. This woman was afterwards convinced, and became a Friend.

Leaving the neighbourhood of Cockermouth, he went to Coldbeck, and thence to Carlisle, having meetings at several places, at which divers were convinced. At Carlisle, he had a meeting in the cathedral, and another among the soldiers at the castle, where he met with but little opposition, and some of the soldiers were convinced. He also preached on the market day at the cross, and on First-day, went to the public worship house; where, as usual, when the priest had ended his sermon, he preached to the people; which occasioned considerable tumult, and the next day the Magistrates granted a warrant to apprehend him. Being brought before them, he laid open the fruits of their priests' ministry, and their own high profession; for they were Presbyterians and Independents, as were the persecutors in general in those days, the Episcopalians having then no power. After a long examination, he was committed to prison, as a blasphemer, heretic, and seducer. Here he lay till the assizes, when it appears to have been intended to take away his life, the high sheriff saying that he would guard him to the place of execution himself; but whilst he, with the judge

and justices, were contriving how to accomplish their evil design, the judge's clerk started a question, which confounded their councils. Finding they could not succeed in this object, they concluded not to bring him to trial, notwithstanding a strong remonstrance from Anthony Pearson. Being now left to the mercy, or rather to the cruelty, of the magistrates, they removed him into the prison which was occupied by felons. It was a very filthy place, men and women being put promiscuously into it. One woman was almost eaten to death with vermin. The prisoners, however, were very loving, and even subject to their new companion, and "some of them," he says "were convinced of the truth, as the publicans and harlots were of old." The jailer and under-jailer, however, treated him with great cruelty, and even beat him very severely; nor would they suffer his friends to visit him, without extending their abuse to them; and they were often denied access to him.

When he found that he was not likely to be brought to public trial, he published a paper, inviting those who had any thing to lay to his charge, to give their accusations in writing, that they might be fairly answered. This paper he directed to be put upon all the market crosses in Westmoreland and Cumberland. He also wrote to the magistrates who committed him; and Anthony Pearson, who

had before very forcibly remonstrated with the justices, on their conduct, wrote, jointly with Gervas Benson, to the magistrates, priests, and people of that place, reproving them for their illegal and cruel conduct to their friend. Soon after this, the magistrates concluded to set him at liberty, but before his liberation, the governor (of the castle, I suppose) introduced Anthony Pearson to the prison, and they examined this miserable place of confinement, which was found so filthy, that the magistrates were exceedingly censured. The jailers were obliged to find sureties for their good behaviour, and the under-jailer was committed to the same prison. It was during George Fox's confinement here, that James Parnell, a youth about 16 years of age, visited him; and being convinced, joined him in religious fellowship.

After his liberation from Carlisle, he returned to Thomas Bewlay's, at Coldbenk, where a Baptist teacher came to dispute with him. The Baptist, however, was convinced, and having an impropriation of tithes, he gave it up freely; and several others followed his example. About this time, Friends were exceedingly abused in these parts, and underwent great sufferings various ways, their lives being often in danger: "but (says George Fox) the Lord's power sustained them; the everlasting gospel and word of life flourished, and thousands were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to his teaching."

Leaving Cumberland, he came to Strickland-head, in Westmoreland, where he had a large meeting. The priests and magistrates in these parts were violently disposed, and obtained a warrant to apprehend him; but they were not permitted to execute it. Visiting the meetings of his Friends on the way, he came again to Swarthmore. Some Baptists in Scotland had sent to offer to dispute with him, and he appointed to meet them at Thomas Bewlay's, in Cumberland; but when he came there, none of them met him. He received much personal abuse in this journey, but sustained no material injury. He next visited part of the county of Durham, and passed into Northumberland. At Derwent-Water, he had several great meetings: "The everlasting word of life was freely preached, and freely received; hundreds being turned to Christ their teacher."

Coming to Hexham, he had a large meeting on the top of a hill, in the neighbourhood, at which he met with no interruption. After this meeting, he passed through the town, and came into Gilsland, a country then noted for thieves, some Friends being with him. Here a priest came to them at an inn, and said he would prove them deceivers, out of the Bible, but he failed of his design. In the course of their conversation, George asked him what he called the Steeple-house. "Oh, (said he) the dreadful house of God, the temple of God."

This shows the very superstitious reverence which was then entertained for these places, and accounts for that zeal with which George Fox opposed it, and endeavoured to convince the people of their erroneous opinions respecting them.

He now came again into Cumberland, and had a meeting on the top of a hill, near Langlands, at which several thousands of people were supposed to be present. It was a heavenly meeting. The minds of the people were so effectually turned to Christ, their teacher, that when Francis Howgill visited them afterwards, he found that they had no need of words, and he sat amongst them, without having any thing to communicate. Many predictions were about this time given forth by their enemies, of the speedy downfall of this new society, and its members met with great reproach and suffering, on account of their peculiar conduct. Many, for a time, refused to deal with them in the way of trade; but their uprightness and integrity soon raised them so much in the good opinion of the people, that they had in general more business than their neighbours, which frequently excited much envy towards them. There were now great numbers convinced in the Northern counties; and many mouths were opened to bear testimony to the truth, and to publish it in various parts of the nation. This brought an exercise upon George Fox; and he wrote an epistle to his Friends, "stirring up

the pure mind, and raising a holy care and watchfulness over themselves and one another."

Whilst he was in the North, Morgan Floyd, a priest of Wrexham, in North Wales, sent two of his congregation to inquire concerning Friends, and to try them, as he called it; but these triers being both convinced, did not hastily return to their master, continuing awhile with Friends hereaway. One of them, John ap John, continued a steady Friend, and became a minister, in which capacity he afterwards accompanied George Fox in Wales.

It does not appear when George first promulgated his testimony against oaths, but it is a doctrine that had now made some progress; for when, during Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate, an oath of allegiance or obedience to him, was tendered to the army, many of them refused to take it, in compliance with the command of Christ: "Swear not at all." It seems that these soldiers had been already convinced by George Fox's ministry, or that of his Friends, but had not yet left the army. This however was the means of entirely separating them from it, and bringing them into nearer fellowship with friends. Some proved unfaithful, and remaining in the army, several of them were shot by their fellow-soldiers, who mistook them for enemies.

From this and other circumstances, it appears,

that several of our early Friends were convinced while in the army; and they did not immediately relinquish this mode of life; but as the peaceable principles, promulgated by George Fox and his Friends, prevailed, the inconsistency of war with the Gospel dispensation, became increasingly manifest; and this new society considered itself called upon to bear testimony to the coming of that day, foretold by the prophets, in which "Nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

CHAPTER VI.

1654.—Returns into Yorkshire. Large meeting at Synderhill Green. Goes into Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. Visits his relations in Leicestershire, and travels to London. Visits Bedfordshire. Returns to London, goes to Kent, Sussex, and Berks. Again visits London and several Eastern and Midland Counties—and writes an Epistle to Friends in Ireland.

THE Churches in the North being established, and Friends gathered under the teaching of Christ, George Fox was engaged to travel into the Southern parts of Yorkshire, and passing through Halifax, a rude town, he came to Thomas Taylor's who had been a captain in the army, and proceeded to Synderhill Green, where a meeting was appointed for him, about three weeks before he came there. The meeting proved very large, and it was supposed some thousands were present, many of whom were persons of note, or officers in the army. "There was a general convincement; for the Lord's power and truth were set over all, and there was no opposition." This was in the beginning of the year 1654.

There were now about sixty ministers raised up in the Northern counties, as fellow labourers with George Fox, and travelling in different parts of the nation. For these he felt much solicitude, that

they might be kept humble and watchful; and he wrote an epistle to them, containing much instruction and advice, which, in their state of infancy and inexperience, might be very profitable to them.

After he left the country about Synderhill Green, he travelled in various parts of Yorkshire, as far as the extremity of Holderness, visiting Friends who had been gathered by his ministry, when there before; and he found them in a situation which proved comfortable to him. He afterwards came to captain Bradford's, whose place of residance he does not describe, but it may be supposed to be not far from York, as many Ranters came from that city to dispute with him, who, he says, were confounded. A lady Montague also came to captain Bradford's, and was convinced, and lived and died in the truth.

In the course of his travels, he came again to Thomas Taylor's, near Halifax. Some rued persons, who, it was said, had bound themselves by an oath, to kill him, came to a meeting there, at which about two hundred persons were present; but, notwithstanding the wicked design of these men, and their great rudeness during the meeting, they were all, at length, brought into quietness; and the meeting proved very satisfactory. "The Lord," says George, speaking of this time, "hath raised a fine people in these parts, whom he hath drawn to Christ, and gathered in his name."

From the neighbourhood of Halifax, he went to Balby, whence several Friends accompanied him into Lincolnshire. To one meeting the Sheriff of Lincoln came, and several persons with him, who for a time caused some disturbance; but the power of truth came so over them, that several of the opposers were convinced, among whom was the sheriff. At another meeting Sir Richard Wray, with his brother and brother's wife, were also convinced, as were many others in these parts. From Lincolnshire, he went into Derbyshire, accompanied by the sheriff of Lincoln. They had also a large meeting at Skegby, in Nottinghamshire, where it appears a considerable convincement took place. Afterwards he went into the Peak of Derbyshire, where he met with many Ranters, and had much disputing with them; but "the Lord's power," he says, "went over them; the word of life was fully and richly preached, and many were convinced." This meeting was at the house of Thomas Hammersley, who, being summoned on a jury, was admitted to serve without an oath. He was made Foreman, and when he brought in the verdict, the judge said, "I have been a judge many years, but never heard a more upright verdict than that Quaker has brought in." Other circumstances of this kind occurred, which it is not thought necessary to notice.

Travelling through Derbyshire, he visited Friends, till he came to Swanington, in Leicester-

shire, where was a general meeting, which several Friends in the ministry attended, as John Audland, Francis Howgill, Edward Pyott, and Edward Burrough. Several persons were convinced in these parts; but some Ranters made a disturbance; yet they were brought into quietness, the Lord's power coming over them. Here, and at Twycross, many were convinced, amongst whom were several of the Ranters.

After an absence of three years, George Fox returned to the place of his nativity, to visit his relations. Here his old acquaintance, Nathaniel Stephens, the priest, soon sent for him. George was not aware of the cause, but afterwards found that he had given notice to the country of a meeting, and obtained another priest to join him in a public dispute. At the conclusion of it, George informed the people, that he intended to be there again that day week. In the interval, he went into the neighbouring parts, and had several meetings. The priest, it seems, took the information for a challenge to another dispute, which was not intended, and he collected seven other priests to assist him, giving public notice of the meeting, by which many hundreds were collected. The priests would not keep to any point; and the dispute seems not to have been productive of much benefit. At a meeting in the same place, a week after this, it does not appear that much impression was made

on the people of his native town, though a few were convinced at this last meeting.

After he left Drayton, he came to Leicester and Whetston. At the latter place, he was arrested by some soldiers of colonel Hacker's regiment. In the evening, he was brought before the colonel and his officers, and underwent many interrogatories. George, being required to stay at home, and not go abroad to meetings, could not agree to the colonel's order, in consequence of which the colonel concluded to send him to the protector, in London, against whose life it appears some plots were supposed at this time to be laid. George asserted his innocence, and, nothing connected with any plot being laid to his charge, remonstrated strongly against the colonel's conduct, but in vain. The last remonstrance was whilst the colonel was in bed, when George, not succeeding, kneeled by the bed side, and "besought the Lord to forgive him," telling him also "when the day of his misery and trial should come upon him, to remember what he had said to him." The colonel was afterwards imprisoned in London, and executed as a regicide; and being reminded of his former conduct to George Fox, he acknowledged that he had trouble upon him for it.

Captain Drury was charged with the care of George, and took him to London. On the way, he

frequently preached to the people, at the inns and places where he went; and he visited Wm. Dewsbury and Marmaduke Storr, who were in prison at Northampton. When he and his guard came to London, George was taken to an inn, the Mermaid, near Charing-Cross; and captain Drury went to inform the protector of their arrival, and to give an account of his prisoner. The protector appears to have been very moderate, and only required that George Fox should engage not to take up a sword or weapon against him, or the government, as it was then constituted. George felt no difficulty in complying with this requisition, and the next morning wrote to the protector, in which he avowed his principle against the use of any outward weapons, to the injury of him or any other man. This satisfied the protector, who afterwards sent for him to Whitehall, and they had much friendly conversation together, George admonishing the protector with his usual freedom. After they parted, he was invited by the protector's order, to dine with his gentlemen, but he refused the invitation; which, with other circumstances, induced the protector to say, "now I see there is a people risen, that I cannot win either with gifts, honours, offices, or places; but all other sects and people I can." To this it was replied, "that Friends had forsaken their own, and were not likely to look for such things from him."

Whilst George Fox was prisoner at Charing-

Cross, many persons of various descriptions came to see him, amongst whom he had some service; and being now liberated, he went into the city of London, where he held many meetings, which were very largely attended; and the truth spread exceedingly. He also went again to Whitehall, and preached to the officers, and to those who were called Oliver's gentlemen, who, it seems, were his body guard. George says that he "was moved to declare the day of the Lord amongst them, and that the Lord was come to teach his people himself." Some of the protector's household, and of his own family, were convinced. Whilst George was in London and its neighbourhood, he wrote several addresses to people in different situations, one of which was to the protector, "to warn him of the mighty work the Lord hath to do in the nations; and to beware of his own wit, craft, subtlety, and policy, and not to seek any by-ends to himself."

Leaving London, he went to John Crook's, in Bedfordshire, where he had a large meeting, at which the people were generally convinced. John Crook was a justice of peace, and whilst George Fox was at his house, several country gentlemen came to dine with the justice; and George being one of the company, embraced the opportunity of declaring the truth to them. He held several meetings in Bedfordshire, where some other Friends

were also engaged in Gospel labour. A great convincement took place, at which the magistrates and others were much alarmed, "because so many were turned from the hireling priests to the Lord Jesus Christ's free teaching."

From Bedfordshire, he returned to London, where he found his Friends established in the truth, and a considerable accession to their numbers. He passed soon into Kent, and came by Rochester to Cranbrook, where he had a large meeting. Several soldiers were present, some of whom behaved rudely after the meeting; but many were turned to the Lord that day, among whom was Thomas Howsigoe, an independent preacher. Capt. Dunk was also convinced in Kent, and went with George Fox to Rye, where they had a meeting, to which the mayor, and several others of note, came. The meeting was quiet, and the people's minds well affected with what they heard. From Rye, he went to Rumney, where he met with Samuel Fisher, who had already been convinced, John Stubbs and William Caton having before visited these parts. Previous notice having been given, the meeting at Rumney was very large; and a great convincement took place. At and near Dover, many also were convinced, amongst whom were a governor and his wife, who had been Baptists, of whom it appears there were great numbers in these parts. At Dover, he found Luke How-

ard already convinced. At Canterbury, he met with a few honest-hearted people, who were turned to the Lord. From this place, he came again to Cranbrook, where he had another great meeting.

From Kent, he came into Sussex, and had meetings at and near Horsham and Steyning, and many in these parts were convinced. "The hearts of the people were opened, and they were turned to Christ Jesus their shepherd, who had purchased them without money, and would feed them without price."

Leaving Sussex, he came to Reading, in Berks, and on First-day had a meeting in an orchard, to which a great part of the inhabitants of the town came, and were well satisfied, many of them being convinced. Here two of judge Fell's daughters (probably from London) came to see him; also George Bishop, of Bristol, who was a captain in the army, and at this time wore his sword, but afterwards he became an honourable member of the new society.

George Fox now came again to London, where he had some large meetings. Leaving the city, he travelled into Essex, and at Coggeshall had a meeting, at which it was supposed about two thousand people were present. "The word of life was freely declared, and the people were turned to the

Lord Jesus Christ, their teacher and Saviour." After this, he had some meetings near Colchester, and when in that place, visited James Parnel, who was in prison there. Of the people in these parts George speaks in this manner, "A great flock of sheep hath the Lord in that country, who feed in his pastures of life."

He next came to Ipswich, where he had a small meeting and rude treatment. At Mendlesham he had a large meeting, which he says "was quiet, and the Lord's power was preciously felt." Passing into Norfolk, he came to captain Lawrence's, where he had a large and quiet meeting; about one thousand persons being supposed to be present, of whom many were convinced. He afterwards came to Norwich and Yarmouth, having some service in these places. From Yarmouth he went to several other places in the county, frequently preaching to the people on horseback. At one place he and his companion ordered their horses to be ready at three in the morning, intending for Lynn, about thirty-three miles distant; but in the night they were inquired after, and arrested by some constables with a hue and cry, on account of a house which, it was said, had been broken into. The next morning they took George and his companion, Richard Hubberthorn, before a Justice, who manifested an unkind disposition towards them; but they being able to prove an alibi, he

was obliged to set them at liberty. It appears that the whole was a pretence of some envious persons, who wished to bring George into confinement and suffering. A great meeting was afterwards gathered in that town, from which the hue and cry came.

Being set at liberty, they came to Lynn in the afternoon of that day, and in the evening obtained a meeting with the inhabitants and some soldiers who were in garrison there. "Many (to use his own words) were convinced, and a fine meeting there is of them that are come off from the hirelings' teaching, and sit under the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ." Leaving Lynn early next morning, they came to Sutton, near the Isle of Ely, where they met with some other Friends, and had a large meeting, to which many people came, some from a considerable distance; also four priests, one of whom was convinced, and some hundreds of the people, the word of life being freely declared and gladly received. That evening they passed to Cambridge, and met with great rudeness from the scholars, both in the streets and at the inn. Such was the violence exercised by these candidates for the ministry, and other professions, that when George and his companions were inquired at the inn what they would have for supper, he replied "Supper! were it not that the Lord's power is over them, these rude schollars look as if

they would pluck us in pieces, and make a supper of us." The mayor of the town was, however, very differently disposed from the students, and fetched George Fox to his own house. Here they had a good meeting with some well-disposed people, that day or evening; and early next morning left the place, to the disappointment of some who had entertained evil designs respecting them, and supposed they would continue longer there.

From Cambridge they came to Bishop-Stortford and Hertford, at both which places some convincement took place. Returning to London, they were gladly received by their friends. Here George, accompanied by Richard Hubberthorn, continued some time visiting Friends, and replying to gainsayers, sometimes by public disputation, and at others, by writing. Whilst in London, he also wrote an affectionate Epistle to his Friends, to encourage them under the sufferings and exercises which then fell to their lot; persecution being very prevalent in many parts of the nation.

Feeling his mind at liberty to leave London, he travelled into Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire. At Wellingborough he had a large meeting, and many in those parts were turned to the Lord. Such was the influence of the ministry of George Fox and his friends, that the Presbyterians and Independents hereaway, falsely reported that they

carried bottles with them, out of which they gave the people drink, and thus induced them to become their followers. These high professors became also great persecutors of Friends on account of their not paying tithes; though tithes were among the evils of which they had complained in the former government.

From Wellingborough George Fox went again into Leicestershire. Colonel Hacker had threatened, that if he came there he would imprison him again, though the protector had given him his liberty; but when he came to Whetston, where he had been before taken prisoner, he met with no interruption. On the contrary, the colonel's wife and his marshal, came to a meeting there, and were both convinced, as were also two justices of the peace from Wales, Peter Price and Walter Jenkins, who afterwards became ministers of Christ. At Wm. Smith's, at Sileby, George had another meeting, which was largely attended, many Baptists coming to it, and one of their teachers being convinced.

He now came again to Drayton, his native town. The priests, who had before been very violent against him, were quiet; many of them being engaged in endeavouring to obtain a benefice at Nuneaten, which was then vacant by the death of the incumbent. He had next a meeting

at Badgley; great numbers came to it, some from a considerable distance, and many were convinced. This was also the case in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, in which counties he had large meetings, and where, he observes, "many were turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God."

He next came into Warwickshire, and had a meeting at Birmingham, where many persons were convinced. Afterwards he came to Evesham, in Worcestershire, where the magistrates had cast several Friends into prison; and hearing of George Fox's coming, had made a pair of high stocks. He went, however, to Evesham with his usual courage, and in the evening had a large, precious meeting with Friends and others, who were refreshed together with the word of life. In the morning he went on horseback to the prisons, and visited his friends there. After which, as he was leaving the town, he observed the magistrates coming to arrest him, but they were too late. The spirit of persecution was now very violent in these parts.

Coming to Worcester, he had a satisfactory meeting there. At Tewkesbury, the priest, with a rude rabble, attended the meeting, and caused some disturbance. Travelling to Warwick, he had a good meeting at the house of a widow, at which many were convinced; but the bailiff manifested a

persecuting spirit, which induced Gearge Fox to go to his house, and remonstrate with him. The people were rude, but George and his companions, (for several Friends were now with him,) did not suffer any material injury. After leaving Warwick, he was engaged to return to it, and declare the word of life to them; and being struck at, he showed them their unworthiness of the name of christians. Some, however, both here and at Tewkesbury, were turned to the Lord.

Being now clear of Warwick, he went to Coventry, where he found the people in a dark state. Going to a person's house, where he had been when there before, he found him drunk. This so affected George's mind, that he did not go into any house in the town, but rode through some of the streets and the market-place, and, says he, "I felt the power of the Lord over the town." He next came to Dun-Cow,* where he had a meeting, and many were turned to the Lord by his Spirit. Here he met with John Camm, whom he styles "a faithful minister of the everlasting gospel." At this place they were treated with much rudeness in the evening, some of the people riding on horseback into the room in which the Friends sat, but they were not much injured. "The Lord," he says, "gave us dominion over them."

*This is supposed to be the sign of the Dun-Cow.

Passing through Leicestershire, he came to Badgley in Warwickshire, where Wm. Edmundson met him, by whom he wrote an epistle to friends in the north of Ireland, which not being long, it may be proper to insert, as a specimen of his short, pithy, mode of expression. When read among those to whom it was addressed, we are told that it had very reaching effect upon them.

"FRIENDS,

"In that which convinced you wait, that you may have that removed you are convinced of. And all my dear friends dwell in the life, love, and wisdom of God, in unity one with anoth- God; and the peace and wisdom of ur hearts, that nothing may rule in fe which stands in the Lord God.

G. F."

CHAPTER VII.

1655 to 1656.—Travels through the Counties of Northampton, Bedford, and Herts, to London. Leaves London for Surrey, Sussex, Hants, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall. Is imprisoned at Launceston about six months, where he is very cruelly treated.

AFTER writing the epistle to Ireland, George Fox travelled by Swanington and Higham, into Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, and Hertfordshire. At Baldock he met with some Baptists, and visited a sick woman of that profession, who with her husband was convinced, and meetings were held in their house. At the inn, two men were fighting very furiously, and no one durst attempt to part them; but George, with his wonted interpidity, stepped between them, and holding one of them by one hand, and the other by his other hand, he admonished and reconciled them, and they behaved so well to him, that the people were in admiration.

He and his companions now passed by Market-Street and Albans, to London, where their friends were comforted by their accounts of the prosperity of truth, and their deliverance from many dangers. At London he stayed some time, visiting the meetings of his friends. When he left the city, James Naylor was there, concerning whom, at parting,

George felt some fear, which he afterwards found not to be groundless. He now travelled, having Edward Pyott for a companion, into Surrey and Sussex. Not far from Ryegate, he visited Thomas Moore, a justice of the peace, who was convinced, and became a serviceable man in the society. Passing through Godalmin, Horsham, and Arundel, he came to Chichester. Here some people attended the meeting, who where disposed to dispute and make a disturbance. The woman of the house where the meeting was held, was convinced; but having an offer of marriage from one not a Friend, George Fox endeavoured to dissuade her from it, but in vain. After her marriage, she found her husband greatly in debt, and became deranged in mind; from which however she recovered, and her husband dying, she became sensible of her fault in slighting the advice which George Fox had given her.

Leaving Chichester, they went to Portsmouth, where, after an examination by the governor, he was set at liberty, and came to Ringwood. Here, and at Pool and Southampton, several were convinced and turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their teacher and Saviour. Among this number, at Pool, was William Bailey, a preacher among the Baptists, who afterwards became an eminent minister among Friends. At Dorchester, George had a meeting and dispute with some Baptists; which

terminated in the convincement of many who were present. Coming to Weymouth, they had a meeting with about eighty sober people, most of whom were convinced, receiving the truth in the love of it, with gladness of heart. When George and his companion left Weymouth, a captain of horse accompanied them about seven miles. George says, "This captain was the fattest, merriest, cheerfullest man, and most given to laughter," that he ever met with. This produced several reproofs from him, the last of which appears to have reached the captain's heart; and he told George, the next time they met, that when he spoke to him at parting, the power of the Lord so struck him, that before he got home, he was serious enough; and had left off his laughing. He was afterwards convinced, and became a serious good man, and died in the truth.

Parting with the captain, George Fox and his companion came to Honiton in Devonshire, and after having some dispute with a number of particular Baptists, they proceeded to Topsham, where they met with much rudeness among the people; yet some were convinced, and a meeting was afterwards settled in this town. From Topsham, they proceeded to Totness, which he calls "a dark town." Whilst here, his companion was much indisposed; but soon recovering, they proceeded to Kingsbridge, where several people were

convinced. Coming to Plymouth, they had a very precious meeting at Robert Cary's. Elizabeth Trelawney, the daughter of a baronet, attended and was convinced, with several others, and a meeting was settled there in the Lord's power.

Leaving Devonshire, they passed into Cornwall, and came to an inn in the parish of Menhenniott, near which a meeting was held that night, at the house of Robert Hancock. This meeting appears to have been the means of extending the principles of Friends, and gathering many into the acknowledgment of them. Passing through Penryn and Helston, they came to Market Jew, where the magistrates sent constables for them. The constables having no warrant, they refused to attend them, but after some other messages, Edward Pyott went, and had some discourse with the magistrates, who gave them no further molestation. At this place George wrote a paper, containing some Christian instruction and advice, which was to be spread in the seven parishes at the Land's End. One of these papers were given, as they were travelling betwixt Market Jew and Ives, to a servant of Peter Ceely, a justice of peace and a major in the army. The servant gave the paper to his master, and when George and his companions came to Ives, they were taken before the major. George having walked to the sea shore, was not

present when his companions were taken; but when he knew where they were, he followed them of his own accord. After some conversation, and tendering the oath of abjuration, Ceely committed them to a party of soldiers, to take them either to Pendennis Castle, or to Launceston jail. On the way, at Redruth, they had some religious service, also at Smethick, the same as is now called Falmouth. Here captain Keat, who commanded the guard, conducted himself so rudely and improperly, by permitting a relation of his to insult and even strike George Fox, that he sent for the constables, and asked the captain for his warrant. On his showing it, George observed that he had broken his order, and desired one of the constables to keep the warrant, which he did, and refused to return it, till they had shown it to the officers at the castle, who expressed great disapprobation of captain Keat's conduct. The captain and his guard were now so humbled, that they promised to be more civil, if the prisoners would go with them, and they might have their order again, with which the constables at length complied.

Captain Fox, governor of Pendennis Castle, not being there, the prisoners were taken by Bodmin to Launceston; but on the road, Keat and his party of soldiers manifested much malice towards them, at least to George Fox, whose life the captain seemed desirous of being taken; but his evil

designs were frustrated. When they came to Launceston, the captain delivered his prisoners to the jailer. They had no Friends here to assist them, and the jailer was very exorbitant in his demands for their support, and that of their horses; but after some time, they were visited by a few of the inhabitants of the town and the neighbouring country, several of whom were convinced; which caused great anger among the priests and many other high professors. Thus we see how persecution often defeats its own object, and by an over-ruling Providence, is made the means of spreading those principles, which it is intended to suppress: Indeed, one of the protector's chaplains, when he heard of George Fox's confinement at Launceston, told Oliver, that they could not do George Fox a greater service, for the spreading of his principles in Cornwall, than to imprison him there.

Now commenced a long imprisonment, marked with much injustice and cruelty, but borne with that firmness and patience, which are the peculiar characteristics of George Fox. Besides Edward Pyott of Bristol, William Salt was at this time in company with George; and all three were committed to prison. About nine weeks after their commitment, the assizes commenced, and judge Glyn, who was chief justice, came the circuit. When the prisoners were brought into court, George saluted it with "Peace be amongst you."

The Friends keeping their hats on, consistently with their principles, the judge ordered them to take them off, with which they not complying, the judge, after some debate, remanded them to prison, between which place and the court, they were repeatedly taken backward and forward. George Fox having queried where any magistrate, either jew or heathen, from Moses to Daniel, required the hat to be put off before him, the judge not being ready with a reply at the time, afterwards sent for George and his companions from prison, and asked them, "Where had they hats from Moses to Daniel? Come answer me, I have you fast now." To this George replied, "Thou mayest read in the third of Daniel, that the three children were cast into the fiery furnace with their coats, their hose, and their hats on." The judge finding he could not prevail with argument, had recourse to the usual cry, "Take them away, jailer."

Whilst George was in court, he was much affected with observing the frequent use of oaths, which induced him to give a paper against swearing, that he had with him, to the jury. This being shown to the judge, he asked George whether that seditious paper was his, who desired it to be read, that he might know whether it was his or not, and that those who heard it might judge whether it contained any thing seditious. The judge showed much reluctance to the paper being read; but the matter

was so pressed upon him, that he at length permitted it; and George Fox publicly owned it to be his, and showed its consistency with the doctrine of Christ and the apostle James.

Major Ceely, who was in court, manifested much malice on this occasion, bringing false accusations against George Fox, which he could not substantiate, and of the falsehood of which the judge and court seemed sensible. One of the accusations was, that George Fox told him (Ceely) that he could raise forty thousand men at an hour's warning, and requesting Ceely's assistance. This George disproved, by obtaining, with much difficulty, his mittimus to be read, and by his comments upon it. The other charge of major Ceely was, that George Fox had struck him in the presence of captain Bradden. The captain was in court, and George Fox called upon him to give evidence if he saw any such thing, but he would not come forward to support the charge. At night he came to see George and his companions, and told him that neither the judge, nor any of the court, gave credit to major Ceely's charges. It seems George Fox had reproved the major for his hypocrisy, which he chose to represent in a different manner, as if he had struck him with his hands.

It is lamentable to observe how weakly justice

was administered at this time. George Fox and his companions were brought to no regular trial, but being remanded to prison, they were detained there till the following assizes. Many persons of repute came to visit them in prison, of whom Humprey Lower, who had been a justice of the peace, was convinced; and the prejudices of some others, who had been of an opposing spirit, were much removed.

Being now likely to continue long in confinement, the prisoners thought proper to send their horses into the country, and also to withdraw the allowance of 7s. per week each for themselves. This greatly irritated the jailer, who appears to have been a very wicked man. He put the prisoners into a filthy place, called Doomsdale, where they were most inhumanly treated by the two jailers, both of whom had been burnt in the hand and shoulder for their crimes.* Whilst in this dis-

* George Fox's description of this place, is more suitable for a note than for the body of the work. He says it was "a nasty stinking place, where they used to put murderers after they were condemned. The place was so noisome, that it was observed, few who went in did ever come out again in health. There was no house of office in it, and the excrements of the prisoners had not been carried out, as we were told, for many years, so that it was all like mire, and in some places to the top of the stairs in water and urine: and the jailer would not let us cleanse it or have any straw to lie on." In addition, the jailer poured the excrements of the felons, who lay over this place, upon George Fox and his companions, because they burnt some straw

mal place, the prisoners were told that it was haunted by evil spirits, which, however, excited no uneasiness in their minds; on the contrary, George Fox told those who had endeavoured to alarm them with this report, that "if all the spirits and devils in hell were there, he was over them in the power of God, and feared no such thing." This is similar to an answer of Martin Luther to some of his friends, who discouraged him from going to a place where it was thought his enemies would make him prisoner: "If I knew," says he, "there were as many devils at Worms, as there are tiles on the houses, I would go." Indeed, there appears to have been a considerable similarity of character between these two reformers.

The time of the Quarter Sessions approaching, George Fox and his companions laid their case before the justices at Bodmin, who gave such orders, as considerably improved their situation. The prisoners also represented their case to the protector, in consequence of which, captain Keat and his kinsman, who struck George at Falmouth, were censured, and the captain's relation was told, that George might take the advantage of the law, and recover damages of him; but this, as usual, was declined. A considerable check was, by this means, put to the persecuting spirit which had been

to correct the offensive smell, by the smoke of which the jailer was annoyed.

manifested; and Friends were not molested for preaching in markets, or places of worship. Great darkness as to religion, prevailed in these parts at this time; but through the sufferings and labours of George Fox and his friends, "the Lord's light and truth broke forth, and many were turned from darkness to light, and from Satan's power to God."

During his confinement here, various circumstances occurred, which afforded occasion for the exercise of that courage and presence of mind, which were remarkably conspicuous in the character of George Fox. At one time, whilst one of his fellow-prisoners was admonishing a soldier, George observed the soldier beginning to draw his sword; upon which he stepped up to him, and represented what a shame it was for a soldier to attempt to draw his sword, upon a naked man and a prisoner, telling him how unfit he was to wear such a weapon, and that some men would have taken his sword from him, and broken it in pieces. The soldier, meeting with this seasonable reproof, was so ashamed, that he immediately withdrew, without doing any injury. At another time, the jailer endeavoured to introduce George to a man who was committed to the prison for being a conjuror. The jailer's view, it seems, was for the conjuror to do an injury to George Fox; but he, aware of the jailer's evil disposition, detected the man twice with a naked knife in his hand, no doubt with a

bad design. George reproved the conjuror so severely, that he was afterwards afraid to come near him.

Whilst the prisoners were confined at Launceston, Edward Pyott, who seems to have been well acquainted with the law, represented their case at length to the chief justice Glyn, in which he manifested not only the injustice, but the illegality of their confinement, and particularly of the judge's conduct, when they were brought before him at the assizes. This does not however appear to have procured them any relief; but the Lord, who knew the integrity of their hearts, and the innocency of their cause, was with them, and supported them in their sufferings, which where thus made easy to them, and opportunities were afforded to publish his name and truth among the people. Several of the townspeople were convinced, many became loving to them, and Friends and others from distant parts came to visit them. Among these was the wife of judge Hagget, of Bristol, who was convinced, with several of her children. Her husband also became very kind and serviceable to Friends, which disposition he continued till his death.

The mayor of Launceston being much disposed to take up and imprison Friends, and frequently to examine their pockets, &c. for any thing he might

and to criminate them, George made use of this circumstance to convey to the mayor an account of his inhuman and unchristian conduct. He drew up the account in writing, and gave it to a young man, whom he directed to go a back way out of the town, and return through the gates, where it seems the mayor had placed watchmen, to examine those who were suspected to be Quakers. The young man was carried before the mayor, who searched his pockets, and found the letter; which, when he had read it, made him so ashamed of his conduct, that he seldom afterwards meddled with Friends.

Although George Fox and his companions were continued in prison till a second assizes, yet they were not called before the judges any more; they had, however, considerable service in promoting the cause for which they suffered, during the assizes. Among others, Thomas Lower, who afterwards married a daughter of judge Fell, visited them, offering them money, which they refused. George Fox was concerned to speak particularly to him, and he afterwards said, that George's words were as a flash of lightning, they ran so through him; with more to the same purpose. He was not only himself convinced, but returning home among his relations, and informing them what he had met with, his aunt and her sister

went to visit the prisoners, and were also convince by them.

Whilst George Fox was in prison at Launces ton, a Friend went to Oliver Cromwell, and offere himself, body for body, in his stead. The pro tector was struck with this disinterested act o friendship, and said to those about him, "Whic of you would do so much for me, if I were in th same condition?" He did not however, thin that he could legally accept the Friend's offer but some time after, he sent major general Des borrow to Cornwall, with an intention or pretenc to set them at liberty; but the major requirin such conditions as they could not comply with they did not at this time obtain their liberty; bu general Desborrow left the business in the hands o colonel Bennet, who at length released them, o the thirteenth of Seventh Month, 1656, having bee prisoners about six months. One of the jailers wh had treated them with much cruelty, was not only turned out of his place the next year, but also com mitted to the same filthy jail, where he was locked in irons, beaten and bid to remember his forme wicked conduct to the Quakers; of whom he had now to beg relief. He died in prison, and his fami ly came to great distress.

CHAPTER VIII.

1656—Being released, he visits other Places in Cornwall—Passes through Launceston into Devon—At Exeter finds James Naylor in prison, in a darkened State of Mind—Admonishes him and his Companions—Comes to Bristol, and has two large Meetings—Travels to London, and visits Oliver Cromwell—Travels into the North as far as Yorkshire, and returns to London.

AFTER George Fox and his friends were liberated from this imprisonment, they took horses and went to the house of Humphrey Lower, and afterwards to Loveday Hambley's. At both these places they had large meetings, at which many were convinced and "turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their teacher." After this a general meeting for the whole county was held at Thomas Mounce's, which, being too large for any of the buildings, was held in the orchard. Friends from other counties attended the meeting. Here, and in several other parts of Cornwall, there were many added to the society; and all opposition and persecution seemed for awhile to be removed.

In passing out of Cornwall into Devon, George Fox and his companions went through Launceston, where they visited a few of their friends who had been raised up there during their confinement. Here the constable followed them with a cheese

which he had taken from Edward Pyott, and kept all that time without using it; but the cheese not being wanted by the Friends, they declined accepting it. At Okington, or Oakhampton, they lodged at an inn, kept by the mayor of the town, who had formerly taken up several Friends, but was now very civil to them. These circumstances show the different dispositions which now seemed to prevail, even among their persecutors; and how, by their faithful and patient suffering, the opposing spirit was not only restrained, but in many instances mollified and changed.

A fresh source of trial now awaited George Fox, from the improper conduct of one of his own friends. It was about this time that James Naylor was led into many extravagances of imagination and self-exaltation. George Fox met with him at Exeter, and soon saw the darkened state of his mind, and of those who accompanied him; he therefore reproved and admonished them; but at that time his admonitions were slighted; yet afterwards, when James Naylor saw into the error of his conduct, his resisting the advice of George Fox became the cause of great uneasiness to him. Indeed he afterwards clearly saw how exceedingly he had missed his way, and his feeling acknowledgments of it, place his disposition and character in an amiable point of view.

It does not appear that any meeting was held at Exeter, except in the prison, where James Naylor was confined, at which a corporal was convinced, who, to use George Fox's own words, "remained a very good Friend." He had several other meetings hereaway, as at Collumpton, Taunton, Puddimore, and at John Dander's. There was a great convincement in these parts, and "many," he observes, "were turned by the power and Spirit of God to the Lord Jesus Christ, who died for them; and they came to sit under his free teaching."

George Fox now came to the house of his fellow-labourer and fellow-prisoner, Edward Pyott, near Bristol. The report of his coming there soon spread through the city, where, the next day, being the first of the week, he had two large meetings. At the latter, which was held in an orchard, Paul Gwin, a Baptist, attempted to stir up the people to rudeness, and addressed them in this manner: "Ye wise men of Bristol, I strange at you that you will stand here, and hear a man speak and affirm that which he cannot make good." George Fox had not yet spoken at all, but was standing silent, with his hat off, on a stone, on which Friends used to stand when they spoke. This gave George an opportunity of exposing the man's character; after which he preached to the people for several hours; and at the conclusion of the meeting, "was moved

to pray in the mighty power of God, and the Lord's power came over all; a blessed day it was; and the Lord had the praise."

Leaving Bristol, he, with Edward Pyott, and another Friend, travelled towards London, having a large meeting at Slattenford (Slaughterford, I suppose) and another at the house of Nathaniel Crips, who had been a justice of the peace in Wiltshire; at which it was supposed between two and three thousand people were present. From this meeting he says "the people went away generally satisfied, and were glad that they were turned to Christ Jesus, their Teacher and Saviour." They had also meetings at Marlborough, Newbury, Reading, and Kingston-upon-Thames, all of which, it appears, were quiet and uninterrupted; and several persons were convinced. When at Marlborough, it was the time of the sessions, and some of the justices were preparing to issue a warrant to apprehend George Fox; but a justice Stooks prevented it, telling them that he had held a meeting at his house the day before, at which several thousands were present. This would, no doubt, be accompanied with the representation of some favourable circumstances which satisfied the other justices.

As George Fox came to London, he met Oliver Cromwell riding in his coach in Hyde-Park, and

being desirous of speaking to him, rode to the side of the coach, which some of the life guards endeavouring to prevent, the protector desired them to permit him. He then rode by the side of the coach, and spoke to the protector respecting his spiritual state; George also represented the sufferings of Friends in divers parts of the nation; showing the inconsistency of persecution with the spirit of christianity. When they parted, the protector desired him to come to his house; and when he returned to Whitehall, informed one of his wife's attendants, who had been convinced, that George Fox was come to London, and she the next day visited him at his lodgings.

During their continuance in London, George Fox and Edward Pyott went to Whitehall, to lay before the protector the sufferings of their friends. They found Francis Owen, the vice-chancellor of Oxford with him. After representing their friends' sufferings to the protector, they "directed him to the light of Christ, which had enlightened every man that cometh into the world." This produced some controversy, in which the protector conducted himself with an unbecoming levity, though, it appears, under the feeling of some strong convictions. After he had left the room, George Fox and his companions withdrew; and as they were going away, they met with several persons belonging to the court, with one of whom they entered

into some controversy; but George finding that he was an officer in Northamptonshire, who had severely persecuted Friends, reproved him sharply for it, upon which the officer was glad to slip away, ashamed, it seems, of his unchristian conduct.

After visiting meetings in and about London, George Fox went into Buckinghamshire, Edward Pyott still continuing with him. They had great meetings, and many received the truth in that county. After this, George passed through Northamptonshire and Nottinghamshire, into Lincolnshire, where he had several meetings, at one of which the Wrays, who are mentioned before, were present. After this meeting, when it was dark, "a company of wild serving men" encompassed George, with a design, it seems, to have done him mischief; but he, with his usual courage, spoke to them, and said, "What are ye? Highwaymen?" This seemed to put them to a stand, and soon after, some Friends and others coming up, George reproved the men for their rude behaviour, and gave them some serious advice. "The Lord's power, he says, came over them, and stopped their mischievous design. Blessed be his name for ever."

From Lincolnshire, George Fox came into Huntingdonshire. At Huntingdon, the mayor was very civil, and his wife received the truth

Coming into Cambridgeshire, he was joined by Alexander Parker, Amos Stoddart, and Robert Cravern; the last had been sheriff of Lincoln. They had many meetings in the county of Cambridge, by which the principles of truth were spread among the people. At Crowland, in Lincolnshire, they met with a rude reception from the priest and people, many of whom they found at an inn, almost in a state of intoxication. George reproved them for their immoral conduct, with which the priest and clerk were so much enraged, that they took up the fire shovel and poker, and attempted to beat the Friends with them; but were not permitted to do them any material injury. In this place however some received the truth, which was also the case at Boston, where they met with a different reception, the people appearing to be much satisfied with their ministry. They had many large meetings in those parts, after which George Fox came into Yorkshire, and returned again into Lincolnshire, going afterwards into Leicestershire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire. At Edgehill, he had sent notice of a meeting about three weeks before he came there. It was, as may be supposed, very numerously attended, and consisted of many both of his friends and enemies. Of this meeting he says, "The Lord's everlasting truth and word of life reached over all; rude and unruly spirits were chained down; and many that day were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, came to sit under his blessed

free teaching, and to be fed with his eternal heavenly food."

From Edgehill he came to Warwick and Ragley; after which he went into Gloucestershire, and returned by various places, as Oxford, Cirencester, and Evesham, to London. At Oxford, he met with much rudeness from the students; but it does not appear that he sustained any injury.

He had now travelled over the greatest part of England, in the exercise of his gift, as a gospel minister; and great was the success which attended his labours. He also took great pains to remove objections which had been raised against him and his friends, and against the doctrines which they preached. In reviewing his late exercises and travels, he expresses himself thus; "In this year, 1656, the Lord's truth was finely planted over the nation, and many thousands were turned to the Lord, so that there were seldom fewer than one thousand in prison in this nation, for truth's testimony."

CHAPTER IX.

1656—7.—At London writes various Epistles, and visits the Meetings of his Friends.—Travels into Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hants, &c. to Bristol.—Visits part of Wales, —Leaves it for awhile, but soon returns.—Goes into Cheshire and Lancashire.—At Swarthmore stays about two weeks.—Travels through Westmoreland and Cumberland, towards Scotland.

WHILST George Fox was in London, he employed much of his time in writing Epistles, relating to the state of the society which he had been instrumental in gathering, with some also to its opponents. In these epistles, he manifested the extensiveness of his mind, by embracing the various circumstances connected with the preservation of the society in unity and peace, and in the discharge of its religious duties. He also effectually repelled the attacks of those who were opposing its principles, which he laboured much to explain and defend.

Having discharged various services in and about London, he travelled into Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and Hants, "visiting Friends." From the use of this expression, about this time, it seems the direction of his services was in some degree altered, which was indeed a necessary consequence of the success of his former labours. He had not now,

as formerly, to travel wholly among strangers to him, and, in a great measure, to his doctrine; but he began thus early to reap the fruit of his faithful labours and patient sufferings. It was now near the close of the year 1656, a very short time since the commencement of his public ministry; and we have already seen that a society of many thousands had been formed. He had, no doubt, many fellow labourers, who greatly promoted the same good work. Great indeed was the success which attended their labours, and thus it has frequently pleased Divine Providence to produce great changes in the religious world, to the revival of gospel truth, and the spreading of gospel light. In contemplating these circumstances, though human means are used, we do not find that human power or exertion can, at their pleasure, effect it. We may therefore say; "This is the Lord's doing, it is marvellous in our eyes."

In travelling through the counties above-mentioned, George Fox and his companions met with some rude treatment at different places, particularly at Farnham and Basingstoke. Coming to Bridport, in Dorsetshire, a design was formed to apprehend him; but it did not succeed. Several were convinced in this place, and a meeting settled. At Portsmouth, Pool, and Ringwood, he had large and favoured meetings, "and many were turned to the Lord." After having a meeting at Weymouth,

they came through Dorchester to Lyme, where the inn was so much occupied with a company of mountebanks, that it was with difficulty they could obtain accommodation. At this place, some of the people were effectually reached, and turned, "by the light and spirit of Christ, to his free teaching."

After travelling in those parts, they came to Exeter, and at an inn called the Seven Stars, a general meeting was held of Friends out of Cornwall and Devon. Of this meeting George Fox writes thus: "A blessed heavenly meeting we had, and the Lord's everlasting power came over all, in which I saw and said, that the Lord's power had surrounded this nation as with a wall and bulwark, and his seed reached from sea to sea."

The day after this meeting, some soldiers were sent to apprehend George Fox; but before they had opportunity, he had left Exeter, from which place he came to Bristol, and thence went into Wales, and had a meeting at the Slone. Coming to Cardiff, he and his companions received much kindness from a justice of the peace, and next day they had a meeting at the Town-Hall, to which seventeen of the justice's family came. Though some who attended this meeting endeavoured at first to cause disturbance, yet he observes, re-

specting it, that "many were turned to the Lord."

From Cardiff they came to Swansea, where a meeting was now established. In various other parts of South Wales they had meetings, till they came to Brecknock. Here they met with much rude treatment, and were in considerable danger; but were preserved from suffering any material injury. Thomas Holmes and John ap John were now George Fox's companions; the latter, it seems, had gone into the streets at Brecknock, to preach to the people, which caused a great disturbance and much rudeness. George Fox wrote a paper to the inhabitants, and also personally reproved them, as he left the town, for their unchristian conduct. Going into the country, they had a meeting in a public burying ground, which was very largely attended: "Many were convinced and settled in the truth that day." After the meeting, a justice of the peace said to George Fox, "You have this day given great satisfaction to the people, and answered all the objections that were in their minds." At Point-y-moyle they had another large meeting, which was attended by many persons of consequence in the neighbourhood. Here again many were convinced, and "a large meeting gathered and settled in the name of Jesus."

Leaving Wales for a time, they came to Shrewsbury, where they had a large meeting, and another at William Gandy's, in Cheshire. At the last meeting between two and three thousand people were supposed to be present. "A blessed meeting it was; for Friends were settled by the power of God, upon Jesus Christ, the rock and foundation."

About this time there was a great drought in the nation, on which account the protector issued a proclamation for a general fast. George Fox was concerned on this occasion to publish a paper on the subject of fasts; he also addressed one to the protector, in which he told him, "If he had come to own God's truth, he should have had rain; and that drought was to them a sign of their barrenness, and want of the water of life."

George Fox and his companions now came again into Wales, and passed through Montgomeryshire into Radnorshire. In one place in this county they had a remarkably large meeting. George did not go into it at first, but desired John ap John to go, and if he had any thing to communicate to the people, to speak in Welsh, by which more people might be collected. When the meeting was gathered, a person of the name of Morgan Watkins came to George, and said to him: "The people

lie like a leaguer,* and the gentry of the country is come in." After a little time George went into the meeting, which was in the open air, and standing upon a chair, for awhile in silence, he afterwards preached for about two hours to the people. "The scriptures were opened to them; they were directed to the light of Christ, that by it they might see their sins, and Christ Jesus to be their Saviour, their Redeemer, their Mediator; and come to feed on him, the Bread of Life, from heaven. Many were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to his free teaching, that day; and all were bowed down under the power of God; though the multitude was so great, that many sat on horseback to hear, there was no opposition."

After this meeting, George Fox came to Leominster, in Herefordshire, having Thomas Taylor with him. Here again he had a large meeting in a field, at which several congregational preachers attended. George's mind was much enlarged in preaching the gospel to the people. The priest of Leominster made some opposition to his doctrine, which produced a controversy, in which the priest not succeeding, endeavoured to prevail on the magistrates to arrest George, but in vain. This meeting was of great service in those parts. "The Lord's power came over all, the everlasting truth

* Bailey explains this word—A siege laid to a town.

was declared that day, and many were turned by it to the Lord Jesus Christ, their teacher and way to God."

Travelling through South Wales, he came to Tenby, in Pembrokeshire, and as he entered the town, a justice of the peace invited him to his house. George accepted the invitation. On the first day of the week he had a meeting, which was attended by the mayor and his wife, and others of the principal inhabitants. Whilst George Fox was engaged in this meeting, his companion, John ap John, went to the public place of worship, where he was taken, and by the governor committed to prison. This endangered George's safety, for he was the next morning sent for by the governor; the mayor and justice went before him hoping, it seems, to moderate the governor's mind. When George entered the governor's habitation, he said, "Peace be to this house," and afterwards asked the governor why he cast his friend into prison. To which he replied, "For standing with his hat on in the church." On this George said, "Had not the priest two caps on his head, a black one and a white one? Cut off the brims of the hat, and then my friend will have but one, the brims were but to defend him from weather." "These are frivolous things," said the governor. "Why, then," replied George," "dost thou cast my friend into prison for such frivolous things." After this they had

some conversation on election and reprobation. The governor then became moderate and they parted friendly; John ap John being soon after released. Returning to the justice's hospitable mansion, he and the mayor, with their wives and several others, accompanied George and his companions to the water side, where they parted, George being first engaged to "kneel down with them, and to pray to the Lord God to preserve them."

From Tenby they came to Pembroke and Haverfordwest, at both which places they had religious service; and a meeting was settled at the latter. Whilst they were at Haverfordwest, there was a fair, by which many people were collected. George and his companion "passed through the fair, and sounded the day of the Lord, and his everlasting truth amongst them." They now proceeded towards North Wales, and, at various places, met with much rude treatment; their horses also being repeatedly robbed of their corn. On this subject, George exclaims, "A wicked, thievish people, to rob the poor dumb creature of his food! I had rather they had robbed me." He and his companions laboured in gospel love amongst these rude people, and had some service amongst them. In the course of their travels, they came to a very high hill (Cader Idris, I suppose) from which there is an extensive prospect. Here George took a view

of the surrounding country, and "told John ap John, a faithful Welch minister, in what places God would raise up a people to himself, to sit under his own teaching." This his companion noticed, and afterwards found the event to verify the prediction. Descending from this hill, they came to Dolgelle, where John ap John preached in Welch to the people, in the streets. This brought on a dispute, in Welch, with two independent priests; on which George Fox requested them to speak in English, and he then took a part in it. The priests asserted that the light which John the Baptist came to bear witness to, was a created natural light. This gave George an opportunity to explain the subject at large; after which, his companion interpreted it to the people, many of whom did not understand the English language. The priests were silenced, and the people in general well satisfied; which they afterwards expressed when the Friends left the town. Here George says: "A precious seed the Lord hath thereaway, and a great people in those parts is since gathered to the Lord Jesus Christ, to sit under his free teaching; and they have suffered much for him."

Leaving Dolgelle, they came to Caernarvon and Beaumaris, where they were exercised in gospel labour amongst the people; and at the latter place, John ap John was imprisoned a few hours. In crossing a water near Beaumaris, they met with

interruption from some persons who called themselves gentlemen, and who endeavoured to prevent John ap John's getting into the boat with his horse. This induced George to ride to the side of the boat; and after reproving the young men, he leaped his horse into it, expecting his companion's would have followed; but this not being the case, on account of the depth of the water, George leaped his horse out again, and staid with John ap John till the boat returned. Here they were detained till afternoon, and had forty-two miles to ride that evening. After they had crossed the water and paid their passage, they found that they had but one groat in money left between them. This induced them to travel all night, and early in the morning they came to a place within a few miles of Wrexham; where, that day, they met with many Friends, and "had a glorious meeting, the Lord's everlasting power and truth being over all." Here they were refreshed in body and mind, for they had undergone great fatigue in travelling through Wales; finding it difficult, in many places, to procure refreshment for themselves or their horses. After travelling in Flintshire, they came to Wrexham, where they met with many of what George calls "Floyds people," a religious society, I suppose. They were very rude and light in their behaviour; but they met with suitable reproof. Some persons were however convinced in this town. In reviewing his religious services in the principality

of Wales, George Fox observes, that he "had travelled through every county in Wales, preaching the everlasting gospel of Christ; and a brave people there is now, who have received it, and sit under Christ's teaching."*

Leaving Wales, they came to Chester, called at that time West Chester. Here they staid awhile, and visited Friends, several of whom, it is likely, would be there from distant parts; it being the time of the fair, which is more a commercial than an agricultural one. From this place they came to Liverpool, where there was also a fair, in which they found a Friend preaching at the Cross. He seeing George Fox, and knowing that he had appointed a meeting on a hill near the town, gave public notice of it. The meeting was accordingly held next day, and, as may be supposed, was very numerously attended. Some rudeness for awhile took place; but afterwards the people became quiet. "The truth of God was preached among them; many were that day settled upon the rock and foundation, Christ Jesus, and under his teaching who made peace betwixt God and them."

*It may not be improper to observe, that many of those who were convinced in Wales, afterwards emigrated to Pennsylvania; as did Friends in many other parts of Britain. This circumstance has greatly tended to lessen the number of Friends in this country.

After leaving Liverpool, they travelled towards Manchester, having a meeting on the way, at a town where the bailiff attended with his sword, and was very rude; but no injury ensued. When they came to Manchester, it was the time of the sessions, which caused many rude people to be collected. This, however, did not discourage George from holding a religious meeting, in which he was much abused by the people throwing stones, dirt, and water at him; and when they could not prevail by this means, they applied to the justices, who sent officers to bring him before them. When George came to the court, he found it in such confusion and disorder, that he remonstrated with the magistrates, both on this account, and on the treatment which he had met with. The justices behaved with great moderation, putting him under the care of the constable till next morning, when he was liberated. The disturbance at this place appears to have been occasioned by people, who made high profession of religion; for he observes "the Lord has since raised up a people to stand for his name and truth in that town, over those chaffy professors."

From Manchester he travelled by Preston and Lancaster, to Swarthmore, having meetings at various places. At Lancaster he met with his friend colonel West, who was pleased to see him, and told judge Fell, that George "was mightily grown in the truth." On this he remarks, that the colonel

"was come nearer the truth, and so could better discern it." Before they came to Swarthmore, they had a general meeting of Friends in Westmoreland and Lancashire, which it seems was also attended by other people; for he not only observes that "Friends were settled upon the foundation Christ Jesus;" but adds, that "many were convinced and turned to the Lord." The day after this meeting, he came to Swarthmore, where he met with a cordial reception. "They rejoiced with me," he says, "in the goodness of the Lord, who, by his eternal power, had carried me through and over many difficulties and dangers in his service: to him be the praise for ever."

It might seem necessary for this indefatigable labourer now to rest awhile, after his hard travelling: but he did not continue at Swarthmore quite two weeks, and, during this time, he visited some meetings in the neighbourhood, and wrote several epistles for public use: two of them to his friends, and one to their persecutors. From Swarthmore he passed into Westmoreland, and came to John Audland's; where a general meeting was held, in which a person attempted, with a drawn sword, to press through the crowd, with an intention to injure George Fox; but the people stood so close, that he could not accomplish his wicked design. "The meeting ended peaceably and the Lord's everlasting power came over all." From this place he passed

through Kendall, where a constable had a warrant to apprehend him, and, on seeing George on horseback, went to fetch it; but was prevented executing it by his not stopping in the town. He now travelled northward, and, at Stricklandhead, had a large and quiet meeting, though there were races at that time very near the meeting place. George went afterwards to the race-ground, and preached to the people there; from whom it does not appear that he met with any interruption.

After he had finished his services in Westmoreland, he came into Cumberland; and having a meeting in Gilsland, came to Carlisle. At this place it was usual to put Friends out of the town, when they came there; but a great flood occurring just at this time, prevented the magistrates from executing their malevolent purpose; and a meeting was held on First day. From this place he came to Abbeyholm, where he had a small meeting. When at this place before, he had foretold that "there would be a great people come forth to the Lord; which hath since come to pass." From this place he came to Langlands, where was a general meeting, which was very large, most of the people having forsaken the priests; so that many of the public places of worship were nearly empty. At Pardshaw Cragg, John Wilkinson, who has been mentioned before, attended the meeting, with three or four of his followers; and were all convin-

ced. He was a priest, and preached at three places; but his hearers had chiefly joined Friends. Of him George says, that "he became an able minister, preached the gospel freely, and turned many to Christ's free teaching."

CHAPTER X.

1657-8—Visits Scotland—Returns through Northumberland, Durham, Yorkshire, &c. towards London.—A general yearly meeting held in Bedfordshire—In London disputes with a Jesuit—Advises Oliver Cromwell against accepting the title of king—Writes to his daughter Claypole.

GEORGE FOX having now visited all parts of England and Wales, and some of them repeatedly, turned his attention to Scotland; to which he had felt his mind drawn for a considerable time past. Previously to his going, he requested colonel William Osburn, who lived in Scotland, to meet him; and he, with a few others, came to the meeting at Pardshaw Cragg. The colonel accompanied George in his visit to Scotland, as did also Robert Widders, whom he calls "a thundering man against hypocrisy, deceit, and the rottenness of the priests." These qualities were, perhaps, never more evident among the ruling powers in church and state than at that time. They had been making a great outcry for liberty of every kind; but no sooner did they acquire power, than they exercised the greatest bitterness, and manifested as little regard for liberty, as any that had preceded them. Their avarice also was very great; for though tithes were one of the principal subjects of their complaints

against the episcopal church, they no sooner acquired power, than they appropriated them to their own clergy, to the great dissatisfaction and disappointment of many of their supporters. Many also of the episcopalians had joined the independents, in order to keep their church livings. These observations are made to account for the strong expressions used by George Fox and our early Friends, respecting the priests and many other religious professors in those times; who, notwithstanding their superior pretences, were lamentably deficient in those qualities, which our blessed Redeemer, in his sermon on the Mount, and on other occasions, has particularly marked with his approbation.

George Fox and his companions now entered Scotland, and the first night lodged at an inn. In the evening they visited a nobleman who lived in the neighbourhood, and had expressed to the landlord a desire to see George, when he came that way. He received them very lovingly, and said that he would have accompanied them on their journey, had he not been engaged to attend a funeral. The next day they passed through Dumfries to Douglas, where they found some Friends. They afterwards went to the Heads, supposed to be near Glasgow, where they "had a blessed meeting in the name of Jesus, and felt him in the midst." From the Heads they came to Badcow, where they had a large meeting; and thence towards the High-

lands, stopping in their way at the house of William Osburn. Here they collected an account of Friends' sufferings, and the principles of the Scotch priests; and afterwards (probably when they came to Edinburgh) published them in a book, entitled, "The Scotch Priests' Principles." It does not appear that they now went far into the Highlands, but soon returned to Heads, Badcow, and Garshore. When in this part before, a lady Margaret Hamilton was convinced, who probably lived at Garshore. She "afterwards went (to London, I suppose) to warn Oliver Cromwell and Charles Fleetwood, of the day of the Lord that was coming upon them."

On First-day, George Fox and his companions had a large meeting at or near Garshore, in which he treated largely on the doctrine of election and reprobation, opposing those calvinistical principles of the priests, who told the people, that "God had ordained the greatest part of men and women for hell; that let them do what they could, it was all to no purpose, if they were ordained to hell. That God had a certain number elected for heaven, and let them do what they would, yet they were elected vessels for heaven." These principles George Fox manifested to be inconsistent with the scriptures, which he explained largely. "The eyes of the people," he observes, "were opened, and a spring of life rose up amongst them." The Priests, however, were much alarmed, when they heard of George

Fox being come into Scotland; and proceeded so far as to draw up a number of curses, by which they intended to oppose the principles of Friends; and when this could not answer their purpose, they went to Edinburgh, with petitions to the council there. George, who seems never to have shrunk from danger, where his duty led him, came there soon after, lodging at Linlithgow in his way, where the innkeeper's wife, a blind woman, "received the word of life, and came under the teaching of Christ Jesus her Saviour."

Being now come to Edinburgh, and William Osburn with him, they continued there some time; and went down to Leith, where they had a meeting, which was attended by many of the officers and their wives. Some disturbance was made by the Baptists, and also by others who seemed to be of atheistical notions; but they were all confounded, and left the meeting. Afterwards, George says, "a fine precious time we had with several people of account; and the Lord's power came over all." Several of the officers and their wives were convinced; among whom was the wife of Edward Billing, who had lived separate from her husband, on which account George sent for him, and produced a reconciliation between them; so that they "agreed to live together in love and unity, as man and wife."

When George and his companion returned to Edinburgh, they found several thousands of people, among whom were many priests, collected, on account of the burning of a witch. This circumstance gave him an opportunity of preaching to this large multitude; after which he went to a meeting of his own appointing. To this meeting many rude people, and some disputing Baptists, came, who for awhile caused a disturbance, but being silenced, and leaving the place, a very satisfactory meeting was afterwards held. In returning from this meeting, he found that the Scotch priests had succeeded in their application to the magistrates of Edinburgh, from whom he received an order, dated the eighth of October, 1657, to appear before them on the thirteenth of the same month. George obeyed the summons of the magistrates; but before he was conducted into the council chamber, his hat was taken off, which caused a short remonstrance, in which he informed the door-keeper, that he had been suffered to stand before the protector with his hat on. After he had been awhile before the magistrates, he addressed them in these words; "peace be amongst you. Wait in the fear of God, that ye may receive his wisdom from above, by which all things were made and created; that by it ye may all be ordered, and may order all things under your hands, to God's glory." After this address, the magistrates inquired into the cause of his coming to Scotland; whether he had any outward

business there, and how long he intended to stay; to which George gave them proper replies, informing them of the nature of his visit to that country, and that though he was not likely to stay long in it, yet in this he stood in the will of him that sent him. Having withdrawn awhile till the magistrates consulted together, he was again brought before them, and ordered to leave the country in a week from that time. He remonstrated with them on their illegal conduct, but in vain; and they even refused to hear him in his own defence; on which he reminded them, that Pharoah, though a heathen, heard Moses and Aaron; and Herod heard John the Baptist. When he was taken away from the council chamber, he returned to his inn, where he wrote to the council, and laid before them their unchristian conduct, in banishing an innocent man, who sought their salvation and eternal good. The letter seems to have had a good effect on some of the magistrates; to whom the measure they had meted out was soon after returned; and they that had banished him, were soon after banished themselves, or glad to get out of the way.

Notwithstanding the illegal and unjust order of the council, George Fox continued some time at Edinburgh and its neighbourhood; after which he went again to Heads, where Friends suffered much from the violence of the priests, who excommu-

nicated them, and ordered the people to have no commercial dealings with them, either in selling or buying; but their malice was frustrated by the interference of colonel Ashfield, who was also a justice of the peace, and who put a stop to these violent proceedings. The colonel was himself afterwards convinced, had a meeting settled in his house, became a minister in the society, and lived and died in it.

Having visited and encouraged his Friends at and about Heads, George Fox went to Glasgow; and as he entered the town, the guard took him before the governor, who soon set him at liberty. A meeting was appointed at this place, to which none of the townspeople coming, George and his companions preached through the streets; and leaving the town, came towards Badcow, and to William Osburn's. Whilst in this part, they were waylaid by some thieves, who being observed by George Fox, he requested William Osburn to return and seek for Robert Widders, who had tarried behind to speak to a priest. William Osburn was loth to leave George by himself; but he, with his usual courage, pressed him to return; to which he at length consented. When he was gone, George desired the men to come to him, with which they reluctantly and tremblingly complied. He then admonished them to be honest, and gave them some religious advice, which it appears they did not

resent. Here George staid till his companions came up, and then they went all together to the house of their friend and companion, Wm. Osburn, where they had a good opportunity to preach to the people who came there. They now passed into the Highlands, but the inhabitants were so extremely violent, that they ran at the Friends with pitchforks, and attempted to maim, if not to kill, both them and their horses; but he says, "through the Lord's goodness we escaped them, being preserved by his power."

Leaving the Highlands, they came to Stirling, where the soldiers arrested them, and, took them before the officers, who soon set them at liberty. They could not easily obtain a religious meeting with the inhabitants of this place; but, the next day, there being a horse-race near the town, many of the inhabitants and officers went to it; and, as they returned, George took the opportunity of preaching to them. Some confessed to the truth of his doctrine, though others opposed: "but," to use his own words, "the Lord's truth and power came over them all."

From Stirling they went to Burnt-island, in Fifeshire, where they had two meetings at captain Pool's. He and his wife were both convinced, as were also several officers of the army. After passing through some other places, they came to John-

ston's, now called Perth, where they found a very bitter spirit excited against them, particularly among and by the Baptists; who, when they could not prevail by fair disputation, applied to the governor, and obtained a company of foot soldiers, by whom the Friends were forced out of the town. Alexander Parker and James Lancaster, as well as Robert Widders, were now George Fox's companions. As they passed through the town, guarded by the soldiers, "James Lancaster was moved to sing with a melodious sound in the power of God;" and George preached the everlasting gospel to the people, who generally came out of their houses; so that the streets were filled with them. The soldiers were much ashamed of their part of the business, and said they had rather have gone to Jamaica, than have guarded them. These malevolent Baptists were soon after turned out of the army, and the governor was dismissed on the restoration of Charles the Second.

Being thus forced from Johnston's, and they and their horses conveyed in boats over the water, they went to another market town, where Edward Billing, already mentioned, was quartered, and many soldiers with him. Coming to an inn, the Friends applied for a place in which to hold a meeting, and the Town-hall was proposed by the military part of the inhabitants; but the magistrates not being so favourably disposed, appointed a meeting of their

own to be held there at the same time. The officers desired them, notwithstanding this, to go to the Town-hall, but this they refused, considering it by no means justifiable. They therefore went to the market place, and it being market day, they had an opportunity of preaching to a very large company, who however paid very little attention whilst Alexander Parker was preaching; but when George Fox began to preach, the people came out of the Town-hall, the magistrates following them, and a large company was thus collected. "The people were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, who died for them, and had enlightened them, that with his light they might see their evil deeds, be saved from their sins by him, and might come to know him to be their teacher." Several of the people and soldiers, after this meeting, became more kindly disposed, especially the English, of whom there would probably be many among the soldiers; some of whom were afterwards convinced.

George Fox and his companions came from this place to Leith, where he was informed by the innkeeper and several other kindly disposed people, that the council at Edinburgh had issued warrants to apprehend him; but this did not prevent his going there again. Indeed so little was he intimidated with the information, that he said to those who communicated it; "What do ye tell me of their warrants? If there were a cart load of

them, I do not regard them, for the Lord's power is over them all." When he came to Edinburgh, he went to his former inn, but no one attempted to arrest or meddle with him. After visiting his friends in this city, he and his companions took horse next morning. When out of the town, he informed his companions, that it was upon him "from the Lord to go back to Johnston's, and to set the power of God and his truth over them also." Alexander Parker offered to accompany him, and it was thought best for his two other companions, Thomas Rawlinson and Robert Widders, to stay behind. George's horse tiring that of his companion, he went alone to Johnston's, which he entered without any molestation, just as they were drawing up the bridges. George rode directly to captain Davenport's, from whose lodgings or house he had been banished. Several officers were with the captain, who admired George's courage, in coming again amongst them. When the Baptists heard of his return, they sent him a challenge for a dispute the next day, which he accepted, appointing a time, and a place about half a mile from the town. captain Davenport and his son accompanied George to the place appointed, but no Baptists came, whose design it seems was to get him into their power, and again to force him out of the town. The captain was at this time very loving to Friends, and afterwards lost his place for the conformity of his conduct with their practices and

principles. Whilst wating here, Alexander Parker came in sight, and George and he returned to their companions, Alexander going by the town mentioned before, where they had the meeting in the market, and George by lieutenant Foster's quarters, where he found several officers, who had embraced the principles which he propagated.

George and his Friends now returned again to Edinburgh, which they entered without any interruption. The next day they had a meeting there, which was attended by many of the army, in which they met with no disturbance. George says, "A glorious meeting it was; the everlasting power of God was set over the nation, and his Son reigned in his glorious power."

His mind being now at liberty to leave Scotland, he and his companions travelled towards England, having a large and a satisfactory meeting at Dunbar. This was the last meeting he had at this time in Scotland; after which he makes these remarks respecting his travels in that country: "The truth and power of God was set over that nation, and many, by the power and Spirit of God, were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their saviour and teacher, whose blood was shed for them; and there is since a great increase, and great there will be in Scotland; though the time be far distant at present; for when first I set my horse's feet upon

Scottish ground, I felt the seed of God to sparkle about me, like innumerable sparks of fire. Not but that there is abundance of thick cloddy earth of hypocrisy, and falseness atop, and a briary, brambly nature, which is to be burned up with God's word, and ploughed up with his spiritual plough, before God's seed brings forth heavenly and spiritual fruit to his glory; but the husbandman is to wait in patience."

Leaving Scotland, they came by Berwick to Morpeth, having a good, though small, meeting at the former place. They came next to Newcastle, where, it seems, George had been before, though not noticed in his Journal. The priests at this place, and one at least of the magistrates, had manifested much enmity against his Friends, and said "the Quakers would not come into any great towns, but lived in the fells like butterflies." George, taking Anthony Pearson with him, (whom, it is probable, he found at Newcastle) went to some of the aldermen of the town, and spoke to them respecting the books which they had published, and the reports they had raised; desiring also to have a meeting amongst them, but this they would not permit; and therefore a meeting was held on the other side of the river, at Gateside, now called Gateshead; where George observes "a meeting is continued to this day in the name of Jesus." Since his time, however, the meeting has been removed to Newcastle.

George and his companions, (but who they now were is not certain,) travelling in Northumberland, and the bishoprick or county of Durham, had a large and good meeting at lieutenant Dove's, where many were turned to the Lord. Coming to Durham, they met with a person lately arrived from London, with an intention to establish a college for preparing young men for the ministry. George visited this man, and reasoned with him on the insufficiency of human learning, for making a gospel minister. The man assented to much of what George said, was very tender, and ultimately declined to set up his college.

From Durham they went to Anthony Pearson's, who, it seems, had a house in these parts; and afterwards into Cleveland, and Holderness, and by Hull and Pontefract, to Scalehouse and Swarthmore. After visiting Friends in these parts, George returned into Yorkshire, and went afterwards into Cheshire, Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire. In these visits he had many large and good meetings, the Lord's presence and power accompanying.

At Nottingham, Geo. Fox met with Rice Jones, who appears to have been the head of a people, that had once been very religious; but were now much declined. George wishing to see this people, requested Jones to collect them, with which

he reluctantly complied, and about eighty of them came to the Castle, where a meeting was held, which appeared to have a good effect upon the minds of many of them. Some disputation arose afterward, in which George showed this man and his followers, their deviation from the simplicity and purity, which many of them had once experienced. Not long after, he and his company were quite scattered; but several of them joined Friends. This Rice Jones had some years before said of George Fox, that "he was then at the highest, and should fall;" but in this, as in many other instances, we see the propriety of the apostolic admonition: "Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall."

From Nottingham George Fox and his companions travelled into the counties of Warwick, Leicester, Northampton, and Bedford, having meetings at various places. Whilst in the last mentioned county, they came to the house of John Crook, lately a justice of the peace; and here was held a general yearly meeting for the whole nation, which lasted three days. This meeting was attended by Friends from different parts of the nation, and many thousands of people were at it; so that the inns and towns in the neighbourhood were filled. "Although there was some disturbance, yet the Lord's power came over, and a glorious meeting it was. The everlasting gospel was preached, and

many received it." In this meeting George Fox was not only led into public labour for the people in general, who it appears, were mostly Friends; but he also communicated much pertinent and deep instruction to those, who were engaged in the work of the ministry, which being taken down at the time, he gives the substance of it in his Journal, and it is peculiarly worthy the perusal of those who are engaged in that important service.

This meeting appears to have been the first held for the society at large. George Fox calls it "a general yearly meeting," by which it is probable that an annual general meeting had been agreed upon, though it is not easy to trace the regular continuance of it till some years after the time of this meeting, which was held in the year 1658, probably in the spring. Soon after the conclusion of this meeting, a party of horse, and a constable, came to John Crook's to arrest George Fox; but he having at the time taken a walk in the garden, and the soldiers seeking him only in the house, they departed without accomplishing their object.

After this meeting, George Fox came to London, visiting his friends in the way thither. Soon after his arrival in that city, he heard of a Spanish Jesuit, who had challenged all the Quakers to a dispute, at the house of the earl of Newport; but when he understood that this challenge was

likely to be accepted, he limited the number to twelve, and afterwards reduced it to six, and then to three. George fearing lest the Jesuit should wholly decline the conference, hastened to the place appointed, accompanied by Nicholas Bond and Edward Burrough, whom George sent first to the Jesuit with some directions how to open the conference. When it had commenced, George joined them, and a long debate ensued, principally on the purity, or rather impurity, of the Romish church, and on the doctrine of transubstantiation. The Jesuit was so closely argued with, that the people who were present, and who would be principally of his own party, saw his error, and that he could not defend himself. After some remarks on the persecuting spirit of the Romish church, they parted with the Jesuit, "and his subtlety was confuted by simplicity."

At this time, Friends both in this nation and Ireland, were under great sufferings for their religious principles; and George Fox, during his residence in London, laid their cases before Oliver Cromwell. A subscription was at this time recommended by the government, for the relief of the Protestants suffering by the persecution of Papists, in different parts of Europe; and at the same time a general fast being appointed, George published a paper, in which he showed the necessary attendants of the true fast; and manifested the injustice and

self-condemnation of their conduct, who were blaming the Papists for persecuting the Protestants abroad; while they, calling themselves protestants, were, at the same time, persecuting their protestant neighbours and friends at home. George Fox was indeed much burdened with the insincerity and hypocrisy of the various parties, which, during the Interregnum, rose into power; each of which, he successively warned and apprized of their downfall. So great at this time were the sufferings of the society, that many Friends who were at liberty, feeling for their suffering brethren, requested of the parliament that they might be permitted to take their places, particularly of those whose lives were considered in danger. "This," he says, "we did in love to God and our brethren, that they might not die in prison; and in love to those that cast them in, that they might not bring innocent blood upon their own heads." But notwithstanding these liberal proposals, those high professors were so far from granting the requests, that they would sometimes be enraged, and threaten the kind applicants with whipping them and sending them home. The parliament, which was now sitting, was principally composed of those who were the highest in religious profession; but, it seems, the most violent in persecution. To them George addressed a few lines, which he concludes with these unequivocal expressions from the Apostle James: "Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton; ye have

nourished your hearts as in a day of slaughter; ye have condemned and killed the just, and he doth not resist you."

Whilst he was in London, there was a proposal for giving Cromwell the title of king, which induced George to go to him and advise him against it; and it seems his advice was well received. He also wrote to him on the subject; and about this time the protector's daughter, Claypole, being out of health, and low in mind, George wrote a letter of religious advice to her; which, when it was read, she said stayed her mind for the present.

CHAPTER XI.

1658-60—Leaves London—Meets Cromwell in the park at Hampton court—Goes into Bucks—Returns to London—Goes into Essex—Hears of Cromwell's death—Returns to London—Goes to Reading—Suffers much in body and mind—Comes again to London—Travels as far as Cornwall—Remonstrates on the practice of plundering wrecked vessels.

GEORGE FOX feeling his mind now at liberty from the various services, in which he had been engaged in London, prepared to leave the city; but as he was going out, two troopers arrested him and two Friends who were with him, and took them to the mews, where they were detained a few hours; and then, without any examination, liberated. George now took a boat to Kingston, being desirous of speaking again to the protector, who was at Hampton court, respecting the sufferings of his friends. He met Cromwell riding in the park at the head of his life guard, and George says, "I saw and felt a waft of death go forth against him, and when I came to him, he looked like a dead man." After laying the sufferings of Friends before him, and warning him respecting his own state, the protector desired George to come to him at his own house. Going accordingly the next day to Hampton court, he was informed that the protector was sick, and the doctors were not willing that

he should be spoken with. George now left Kingston, and went to his friend, Isaac Pennington's, in Buckinghamshire, where he had appointed a meeting, in which, he says, "the Lord's power and truth was preciously manifested."

After spending some time in visiting Friends in these parts, he returned to London; and soon after went into Essex, where he heard of Cromwell's death, and that his son Richard was made protector; upon which George went again to London. A church faith, about this time, was given forth; and George, having procured a copy in manuscript, printed an answer, which was published at the same time with the faith. This greatly irritated some of the parliament men; and one of them told George that they must have him to Smithfield; which was the place used, in queen Mary's days, for burning the Protestants. This threat did not at all intimidate him; for he replied to it, that he was over their fires, and feared them not. Thus did this courageous soldier of Christ stand his ground, and nobly contend for the faith delivered to the saints.

Leaving London again, he went to captain Birkhead's at Twickenham, where a meeting was held which was numerously and respectably attended. "A glorious meeting it was, wherein the scriptures were largely and clearly opened: and Christ exalted above all, to the great satisfaction of the hearers."

This time of great persecution seemed to increase, as the present powers drew near to a termination. George Fox says, that "besides imprisonments, through which many died, meetings were greatly disturbed. They have thrown rotten eggs and wild-fire into our meetings, and brought in drums beating, and kettles to make noises with, that the truth might not be heard; and among these the priests were as rude as any." This state of things induced George Fox to salute his friends with a short, but affectionate and instructive epistle, encouraging them to faithfulness and patience in their sufferings. The epistle is as follows:

"My dear friends, every where, in prison, or out of prison; fear not because of the report of sufferings; let not the evil spies of the good land make you afraid, if they tell you the walls are high, and Anakims are in the land; for at the blowing of the rams horns did the walls of Jericho fall; and they that brought the evil report perished in the wilderness. Dwell in faith, patience, and hope, having the word of life to keep you, which is beyond the law; and, having the oath of God, his covenant, Christ Jesus, which divides the waters asunder, and makes them to run all on heaps, in that stand; and ye will see all things work together for good, to them that love God. In that triumph when sufferings come, whatever they may be. Your

faith, your shield, your helmet, your armour, you have on. You are ready to skip over a mountain, a wall, or an hill, and to walk through the deep waters, though they be as heaps upon heaps. The evil spies of the good land may preach up hardness; but Caleb which signifies an heart, and Joshua a Saviour, triumph over all.

"G. F."

George Fox now retired to Reading, where he continued about ten weeks, and underwent much exercise of mind, by which his bodily health was affected. The nation was now in a very agitated state, the restoration of Charles the Second being in contemplation, and soon after effected. Friends were suspected of promoting this object in their meetings, but they did not, as a people, interfere with any matters relating to government; and George, who was returned to London, was afraid, lest, in the present state of public affairs, any young or inexperienced persons, who might sometimes come amongst Friends, should be drawn to take part on either side. He therefore wrote two epistles on the occasion, showing that, consistently with the principles of the doctrine of Christ, which they had embraced, they could not join in any military combinations, nor in those plots and contrivances which were connected with them. He also published a paper on account of the superstitious regard which was paid, by the republican party, to Oliver

Cromwell, whose effigy, after his burial, lay a considerable time in state, with people sounding trumpets over the image.

George Fox continued a considerable time in London, visiting the meetings of his friends there, and in the neighbourhood, as well as being engaged in other services; after which he went into Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk. He came to Norwich about the time called Christmas, but I cannot ascertain whether this was in the close of the year 1658 or 9, but I suppose the former. The mayor of Norwich, having heard of a meeting being appointed, had issued a warrant to apprehend George Fox; who hearing of it, requested some of his friends in that city, to speak to the mayor, by which he was induced not to put his warrant in execution. A large meeting was accordingly held; and though attended by many rude people, and by "several priests, professors, and ranters," it concluded to great satisfaction. During the meeting, one of the priests stood up and cried, "Error, blasphemy, and an ungodly meeting." This induced George to call upon him for an explanation of his assertion, which having attempted, he was replied to in such a manner, as convinced the people, that the priest had charged what he could not prove. The dispute had a good effect on their minds; and removed the prejudice which they had entertained against Friends. The result of the meeting George describes

thus: "A glorious day this was; for truth came over all, and people were turned to God by his power and Spirit; and to the Lord Jesus Christ their free teacher, who was exalted over all."

When this meeting was over, he left Norwich that evening; and afterwards came to Col. Dennis's, where he had a large meeting. After visiting Friends in Norfolk, he came into Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and several other counties. Many were convinced in different parts, though he met with much rude treatment in his travels; but he might truly say with the Apostle: "None of these things move me."

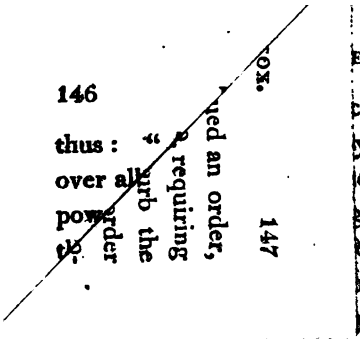
Having finished his services, at present, in the country, he returned to London, where general Monk was arrived, and the gates of the city were pulling down. George Fox had repeatedly, by word and writing, warned the different ruling parties, both in Oliver's time and afterwards, "of the day of recompense that was coming upon them;" and now, before they were wholly removed from their authority, he thought it right to lay their conduct before them; which he did in a spirited and energetic address.

About this time, the soldiers under general Monk's command, being often concerned in disturbing Friends' meetings, their conduct was re-

presented to the general; and he issued dated "St. James's, 9th of March, 1659," for saving all officers and soldiers to forbear to disturb the peaceable meetings of the Quakers." This order restrained the conduct of the military, and probably had a beneficial effect upon others.

Being now at liberty to leave London; and finding his mind drawn to visit Friends in the western parts of England, George Fox travelled into Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire, and Dorsetshire, "visiting Friends in the Lord's power, and having great meetings amongst them." Ringwood, Pool, and Dorchester, are the only places he particularly mentions in these parts. At Dorchester, the constables and officers of the town came to the meeting, under the pretence of looking for a jesuit, whose head they said was shaved. They took off George Fox's hat, to examine his head, when they found that the mark did not apply to him; of which it seems they had been misinformed. Finding their mistake, and that the company was disgusted with their conduct, they withdrew with shame. The meeting, which was very large, many soldiers as well as others being present, was then held to much satisfaction; "and people were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ their teacher, who had bought them, and would reconcile them to God."

From Dorsetshire he and his companions, (for



came into Somersetshire, yterians and other profes- d often disturbed Friends' affecting circumstance he ed in that county. One n put a bear's skin on his yed his pranks in a meet- ing; and, setting himself opposite to a Friend who was speaking, he lolled his tongue out of his mouth, and made sport for his wicked companions; caus- ing a great disturbance in the meeting. But as he returned home, there being a bull-baiting in the way, he stayed to see it, and coming near the bull, he struck his horn under the man's chin, into his throat, by which his tongue was forced out of his mouth, as he had placed it in derision, in the meeting. The bull's horn running up into the man's head, he was swung about in a terrible manner; and though his death is not mentioned, it does not seem likely he could long survive such a circumstance.

Travelling through Somersetshire and Devon- shire, they came to Plymouth, from which place they proceeded to Cornwall, as far as the Land's End, having "many precious and blessed meetings, where- in the convinced were established, and many were added to them." Whilst in Cornwall, George Fox, whose heart seems to have been always open to the feelings of humanity, was much distressed with the conduct of the people, in cases of shipwreck. It

seems that scarcely any exertions were used for saving the lives of the distressed seamen; but the people, "rich and poor," united in plundering the property of the vessels, and securing it for their own private advantage. This induced George to write and publish a paper, remonstrating with the people on their wicked conduct, and contrasting it with that of the Heathens in the Island of Melita, where Paul and his companions were shipwrecked. To this letter he added a postscript, which was addressed to his own Friends; and as it exhibits a specimen of the kind of morals which he inculcated, as well as shows the amiable tenderness of his disposition, it may not be improper to transcribe it.

"All dear Friends, who fear the Lord God, keep out of the ravenous world's spirit, which leads to raven and destroy, and is out of the wisdom of God. When ships are wrecked, do not run to destroy and make havock of ship and goods with the world; but run to save the men and the goods for them; and so deny yourselves, and do unto them as ye would they should do unto you."

This paper was of considerable service; and Friends complying with the above advice, have particularly exerted themselves to assist and relieve distressed seamen, in case of shipwreck; which George Fox says "is an act to be practised by all true Christians."

CHAPTER XII.

1660—From Cornwall proceeds by Devon and Somerset to Bristol—Has large Meetings there—Comes to Worcester—Great Excesses on the King's return—Visits his Relations in Leicestershire—Comes by Derbyshire into Yorkshire—Yearly Meeting at Balby—General Meeting at Skipton—Is committed to Lancaster Jail—Is removed to London and liberated.

IN Cornwall, George Fox had many satisfactory meetings; and several persons of eminence were convinced in that county, whom manifold sufferings could not draw from their principles. He now returned into Devonshire and Somersetshire, visiting Friends till he came to Bristol. This place he entered on a Seventh-day, and understanding that, the day before, Friends' meeting had been disturbed by the soldiers, who were encouraged by the mayor, he requested four Friends of that city to apply to the mayor and aldermen, and to request, that as they would not permit Friends to meet in their usual place, they would accommodate them with the Town-Hall, offering twenty pounds a year for the use of it, and engaging not to interfere with the public business. The Friends were startled at this request; but at length consented to make it, and, to their astonishment, found the mayor willing to accept the proposal; but being only one among many who had the power of acceding to it, the offer

could not immediately be complied with. The mayor's mind was, however, softened by the conduct of these Friends. When they returned, George requested them to go to the colonel of the regiment, whose soldiers had been so abusive, and lay their conduct before him; but this the Friends declined, which had nearly been of very serious consequence; for at the meeting next day, several rude people and soldiers came, some with drawn swords, and one of them had bound himself by an oath "to cut down and kill the man that spoke." He pressed through the crowd, till he came within about two yards of George Fox, who, it seems, was preaching. The four Friends, who had been requested to speak to the colonel, were near him; and the man, entering into dispute with them, suddenly put up his sword; "for the Lord's power came over all, and chained him with the rest;" after which the meeting was held to much satisfaction. The next day, the four Friends went to speak to the colonel respecting the conduct of his men, who not only reprimanded the soldiers, but also wounded them with his sword whilst the Friends were present. This George, with his usual humane and christian spirit, blamed the Friends for suffering in their presence, and also for not going to the colonel when he first desired it; which might have prevented both the disturbance at the meeting, and the punishment of the men.

After this a general meeting was held at Edward Pyott's, near Bristol, which was so numerously attended, both by Friends and others, that the people who remained, said the city looked naked. The meeting "was very quiet, many glorious truths were opened to the people; and the Lord Jesus Christ was set up, who is the end of all figures and shadows of the law, and of the first covenant."

Leaving Bristol and its neighbourhood, George Fox went by * Oldeston and Nailsworth, to Gloucester. Here they had a peaceable meeting, though the city was at that time in a very agitated state, the inhabitants and soldiers being much divided; one part being for the parliament, and the other for the restoration of king Charles. George, however, passed quietly out of the town, though some of the king's party said, after he was gone, that they would have shot him, had they known who he was. From Gloucester he came to colonel Grimes's, where was held a large general meeting, of which he says, "the Lord's truth and power was set over all." He proceeded to Tewkesbury and Worcester; and, in his travels, had to lament the rioting and drunkenness which then prevailed; it being the time of a general election, which is mostly accompanied with excesses and animosities, disgraceful to the christian character. At this time the state of

* Oldeston I do not find in any Nomina Villarum. I suppose it to be Olveston.

parties rendered it worse than usual; and the joy that many experienced, at the prospect of the king's return, induced them to indulge in all those excesses, which too many people think the only mode of demonstrating their pleasure. Besides, this party was always considered the most lax in its morals, and being now more at liberty, they manifested their evil propensities more freely. But notwithstanding these national tumults, George Fox and his friends enjoyed themselves in their quiet and peaceable meetings at Worcester, where he says; "The Lord's truth was set over all; people were finely settled therein, and Friends praised the Lord. Nay, I saw the very earth rejoiced."

Leaving Worcester, he visited the meetings of his friends, till he came to the place of his nativity, where he spent a little time among his relations; to whom he appears to have been affectionately attached. From Drayton he came by Twycross and Swanington, to Derby, at which place he found his old jailer convinced and joined to Friends. Passing through Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, he came to Synderhill Green and Balby, in Yorkshire. At this place, he says, "our yearly meeting was held, in a great orchard of John Kellam's." Whether this meeting was for the society in general, or only for Friends in that county or neighbourhood, it is difficult to determine; but I suppose the latter. The report however of the meeting had spread

to York, from which place a troop of horse was sent to disperse it. Whilst George was preaching, two trumpeters, sounding their trumpets, rode through the midst of the company to him; and the captain who was with them commanded George to come down; for he had orders to disperse the meeting. They then entered into some conversation, by which the captain was so softened, that he was induced to leave a few of his men to attend to their proceeding, who permitted the meeting to continue to its regular close; which was about three hours after. "Friends passed away in peace, greatly refreshed with the presence of the Lord, and filled with joy and gladness." This was a singular deliverance from the malice of their enemies: and some militia men, who probably sent to York for the troop of horse, were much enraged at the captain and his company, for not proceeding to greater extremities. The captain also was a desperate man. George Fox had met with him in Scotland, where he told George, "He would obey his superior's commands, if it was to crucify Christ, or execute the great Turk's commands against the Christians." But the "eminent power of the Lord chained both him and his troopers, and those envious militia soldiers also, who went away, not having power to hurt any, nor to break up the meeting." A meeting was held next day at Warmsworth, for Friends in the ministry; after which, those who lived at a distance departed homewards; but several were

arrested and confined for a short time. On the day that the meeting at Balby was held, general Lambert, who was opposed to the king's return, was defeated, which produced a great bustle in the nation; and George Fox had some difficulty in retaining his horse, which Lambert's party wished to purchase from him; but he refused to part with it, telling them, "God would confound and scatter them," which was verified in a few days.

Having finished his service at Balby and Warmsworth, he travelled by * Barton Abbey, and Thomas Taylor's, to Skipton. Here was held "a general meeting of men Friends out of many counties, concerning the affairs of the church, both in this nation and beyond the seas." Although we read of general and yearly meetings before this, and at other places, it does not appear that they were, like this, meetings for discipline, so that the original yearly meeting, of which that now held is a continuation, was about this time established at Skipton, in Yorkshire. This meeting George Fox had recommended several years before, and it seems this was not the first that was held. Its objects were to collect the accounts of Friends' sufferings, to assist them in procuring redress; and to provide for the relief of the poor in the society, that they might not become burdensome to their parishes. At the first establishment of this meeting, several

* I suppose Burton, or Monk Bretton.

justices and officers came with an intention to break it up; but when they understood the nature of the business, and saw the books in which the transactions of the meeting were entered, they were much pleased; and commended Friends' practice. The poor also of the neighbourhood, sometimes to the number of two hundred, partook of the liberality of Friends, who gave to each of them a loaf of bread; "for we were taught," says this liberal minded minister of the gospel of Christ, "to do good unto all, though especially to the household of faith."

When this meeting was finished, he went to Lancaster, visiting Friends in his way. From Lancaster he went to Robert Widder's house, and to Arnside. Here was held a general meeting for the three counties of Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, which was quiet and peaceable. Returning home with his friend Robert Widders, he went next day to Swarthmore; but had not been long there, before he was served with a warrant from Henry Porter, a justice under king Charles. When George was apprehended, he was taken first to Ulverstone, where he was detained that night; and the next day was conveyed to Lancaster. He was treated with great rudeness and abuse, and the apprehension of him was considered a great acquisition. One of the constables said he did not think a thousand men could have taken him; and ano-

ther man kneeled down and blessed God for his being apprehended. When he came to Lancaster, he was taken before justice Porter, who it seems was a major in the army, and a young inexperienced man. After some conversation, George Fox was committed to the common jail at Lancaster, where he was treated with great cruelty by the under-jailer, and by many others who came to see him.

Being now a close prisoner, he desired two of his friends to apply to the jailer, for a copy of his mittimus; which they were refused, but were permitted to peruse it; and, communicating the heads of it to George Fox, he wrote a reply to it, exposing the falsity of such of the accusations brought against him, as contained any thing contrary to the peace of the nation. His friend Margaret Fell, who was now become a widow, also wrote an address to the magistrates on the occasion; feeling particularly interested, as George was apprehended at her house. She also went to London, to speak to the king on the subject, where justice Porter met her. He had been formerly a zealous man for the parliament, but, like many others at that time, he changed his party as interest led him. Several of the courtiers, however, recognized him; and reminded him of his former conduct, in plundering their houses, and other acts of violence. He therefore hastened

home, and manifested a disposition to release his prisoner: but having, in the mittimus, unwisely, but probably with a design to ingratiate himself with the royal party, committed George a prisoner till he should be delivered by the king and parliament; it was not in his power to release him. George was therefore continued a prisoner at Lancaster for a considerable time longer. During his confinement, Ann Curtis, of Reading, in Berkshire, came to visit him. Her farther having been a warm loyalist, was executed near his own door, for attempting the king's restoration. On this account, she considered herself likely to have some influence with Charles, and therefore, on her return, she united with Margaret Fell, in applying to him, on account of George Fox's imprisonment. When the king knew whose daughter Ann Curtis was, he received her kindly; and promised to send for George Fox to London, and hear the cause himself; and an Habeas Corpus was soon after obtained for the purpose of bringing him; but some legal difficulties being thrown in the way by those who had to execute the writ, and wished to detain him in prison, it was delayed for some time. During this interval, George was not unemployed, but wrote several papers or epistles, one of which was addressed to the king; and as it shows the honest simplicity of his manner of addressing those in authority, as well as his religious zeal against all violence and vice, I shall give a copy of it.

TO THE KING.

"KING CHARLES,

"Thou camest not into this nation by sword, nor by victory of war; but by the power of the Lord. Now if thou dost not live in it, thou wilt not prosper. If the Lord hath shown thee mercy, and forgiven thee, and thou dost not show mercy and forgive, God will not hear thy prayers, nor them that pray for thee. If thou dost not stop persecution and persecutors, and take away all laws that hold up persecution; but if thou persist in them and uphold persecution, that will make thee as blind as those that have gone before thee: for persecution hath always blinded those who have gone into it. Such God by his power overthrows, doth his valiant acts upon, and bringeth salvation to his oppressed ones. If thou bear the sword in vain, and let drunkenness, oaths, plays, maygames, with such like abominations and vanities be encouraged, or go unpunished; as the setting of maypoles, with the image of the crown atop of them, &c.; the nations will quickly turn like Sodom and Gomorrah, and be as bad as the old world, who grieved the Lord till he overthrew them; and so he will you, if those things be not suppressed. Hardly was there so much wickedness at liberty before, as there is at this day, as though there was no terror nor sword of magis-

tracy; which doth not grace a government, nor is a praise to them that do well. Our prayers are for them that are in authority, that under them we may live a godly life, in which we have peace; and that we may not be brought into ungodliness by them. Hear and consider, and do good in thy time, whilst thou hast power: be merciful and forgive; that is the way to obtain the kingdom of Christ. "G. F."

Thus did this suffering christian plead the cause of God and man; and whilst he recommended the promotion of religion and virtue, he endeavoured to induce the king to a lenient conduct towards those, who had not only been his own and his father's enemies; but from whom George Fox and his friends had suffered much persecution.

The principal difficulty which at last obstructed his removal to London, was the fear of the expense, which the sheriff wished to impose upon his prisoner; with whom he first proposed to send a party of horse, and afterwards the jailer and some bailiffs. But finding that he could not bring George Fox to his terms, the sheriff at length agreed to let him go without any guard, taking his own time and way, and to have a friend or two of his own with him; he giving expectation that he would be in London on a certain day of the term, and appear before the

judges. Being now liberated, he went first to Swarthmore to recruit himself; and after resting there two or three days, he took his journey to London; Richard Hubberthorn and Robert Widders being his companions. They travelled through Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, &c. and in about three weeks reached London. The morning after their arrival, they went to the chambers of judge Mallett, who was then preparing himself for trying some of the king's judges; several of whom had already suffered. The judge proposed their coming another time, with which they complied, and found chief justice Foster with him. Esquire Marsh, one of the king's bed chamber, accompanied George, who, on his admission, delivered the charge against himself; and when the judges read that part, which charged him and his friends with imbroiling the nation in blood, they were so astonished, that they struck their hands on the table. George Fox then informed them that he was the man against whom the charge was made. After some time, they sent for the marshal of the king's bench, and desired him to secure the prisoner; but not to put him among the other prisoners. The marshal, however, having no room at liberty, the prison being then unusually full, the judges concluded to leave him to provide for himself; he engaging to appear, about ten o'clock the next morning, at the king's bench, in Westminster-

hall, with only this reserve, "If the Lord give me strength." It seems George Fox was not a stranger to judge Foster, for he said to the other judge, "if he (George) says yes, and promises it, you may take his word."

The next day, at the hour appointed, accompanied by his two friends and esquire Marsh, he presented himself at the court of king's bench, and being brought into the midst of it, he addressed the court in this manner: "peace be among you." The charge was then read; and when they came to that part, which charged him and his friends with imbroiling the nation in blood, he stretched out his arms and said, "I am the man whom that charge is against; and proceeding, he showed the utter improbability of its truth, from his being permitted to come from Lancaster without any guard, or even giving bail for his appearance. The judges and the people behaved with moderation and kindness, seeing the case in its proper light; but there seemed some difficulty in bringing the matter to a regular conclusion. Esquire Marsh told the court, that it was the king's pleasure that George Fox should be set at liberty, as no accuser appeared against him. He was then asked whether he would put it to the king and council, to which he answered, "yes with a good will." The consequence of this was, that he was soon liberated,

without a personal appearance before the king, after having been a prisoner about twenty weeks. He was advised, by some persons in authority, to take the advantage of the law against justice Porter and others, who committed him; and the justice indeed was much afraid of it; but George, with his wonted liberality, declined the proposal, leaving them to the Lord, and not troubling himself with them.

CHAPTER XIII.

1660–2—Short cessation of persecution—Renewed on account of the conduct of the fifth monarchy-men—George Fox, in London, is taken up and liberated—Exerts himself for his suffering friends here, and in New England and Malta—Goes to Bristol—Returns to London—Travels northward—Is imprisoned in Leicestershire, and liberated—Returns to London—Visits the eastern counties, and comes again to London.

GEORGE FOX and his friends had now a short relaxation from suffering. The king commenced his reign, with an intention of granting full liberty of conscience, consistently with a declaration which he made at Breda, previously to his return. About seven hundred Friends, who were imprisoned for their religious principles, were now set at liberty; and the face of things was very different, with respect to religious toleration; but a circumstance occurred at this juncture, which materially changed the scene. About this time, the wicked insurrection of the fifth monarchy-men broke out, by which a great commotion was excited in the whole nation.* All dissenters, it seems, were involved in suspicion, and their meetings attempted to be sup-

* The fifth monarchy men were a set who arose in the time of Cromwell, expecting Christ's sudden appearance upon earth, to establish a new kingdom; and acting in consequence of this illusion, aimed at the subversion of all human government.

pressed. The insurrection of these deluded men took place whilst George Fox was in London; and he, fearing probably that his friends would be suspected, having had large meetings the day before, went the next morning to Whitehall; and a number of his friends came to him at a house in Pall-Mall, though it was then very dangerous to walk in the streets, the city being generally in arms. He continued in Pall-Mall, till the First-day following, intending to be at meeting there that day; but the night before a party of soldiers come to arrest him, and would have executed their purpose, had they not been prevented by esquire Marsh, who, out of his regard for George Fox, slept in the house to protect him. It was, however, agreed that he should be ready in the morning, when the soldiers were to return for him; but before they came, another party had taken him away to Whitehall. The soldiers and people were very rude in their behaviour to him; yet this did not prevent George from endeavouring to turn them from the evil of their ways, and preaching the truth to them. Some persons in authority coming by at this time, ordered him to be put into a place of close confinement; but he did not continue long there, his kind friend Marsh having spoken to Lord Gerrard on his behalf; who ordered George Fox to be set at liberty. He now exerted himself as much as possible to assist his friends in their distress, and with

some others drew up a paper, disclaiming all concern in plots and fighting; but such was the violence of the times, that it was seized and suppressed whilst it was printing. George, however, with his usual intrepidity, never flinched from danger when likely to be useful; but went about the city, in this perilous time, visiting his friends and encouraging them under their sufferings. He also wrote a consolatory epistle to those whom he could not personally visit; and the former declaration against plots and fighting being lost, whilst in the press, another was drawn up and printed, copies of which were sent to the king and council, and others sold in the streets of London and elsewhere. It was presented to the king on the twenty-first of Eleventh Month, 1660, and seems to have been of considerable service. Whilst George Fox was thus engaged, Margaret Fell and Thomas Moor, with some other Friends, applied to the king personally, who, after much importunity, issued a declaration that Friends should be set at liberty, without paying fees. Many thousands were in prison, in consequence of the rising of the fifth monarchy-men, which threw suspicion on all who were not manifestly of the royal party. Partly from fear, and partly from revenge, much blood was shed this year, on various accounts. "This," says George Fox, "was sad work, destroying people contrary to the nature of Christians, who have the nature of sheep and lambs. But there

was a secret hand in bringing this day upon that hypocritical generation of professors, who being got into power, grew proud, haughty and cruel beyond others, and persecuted the people of God without pity." Here he enlarges much on their faithless conduct, and relates many warnings which they received from different Friends, without the desired effect. He also gives the following instance of their intolerant spirit: at a time when some liberty was granted by the government, a priest of Plymouth, in great repute under the commonwealth, prayed "that God would put it into the hearts of the chief magistrates of the nation, to remove this cursed toleration." Nor was this a solitary instance, for several other priests prayed against it by the name of "the intolerable toleration." O tempora! O mores! O preces!* "Say not the former times were better than these."

In the year 1661, accounts were received in this nation, of the cruel persecution of Friends in New England, several of whom were put to death for their religion. At the time of their execution, George Fox was prisoner in Lancaster Castle, where he had a sense of their sufferings, and felt as if the halter was put about his own neck. On receiving the account which confirmed these feel-

*What times! What manners! What prayers!

ings, application was made to the king, by Friends here, on behalf of their suffering brethren in America; and a mandamus was readily granted, to put a stop to the cruelties exercised by the persecutors of New England. George Fox says "they were a people who fled out of Old England, from the persecution of the bishops; but when they had got power into their hands, they so far exceeded the bishops in severity and cruelty, that whereas the bishops had made them pay twelve pence a Sunday, (so called,) for not coming to their worship here, they imposed a fine of five shillings a day, upon such as should not conform to their will-worship there; and spoiled the goods of Friends that could not pay it." The inconsistent and violent conduct of these great pretenders to religion, seems to have often kindled George Fox's honest indignation. Some of the New England magistrates coming over to England, he and other Friends took several opportunities of conversing with them; by which the magistrates were so alarmed, lest they should be prosecuted for murder, that they soon returned to New England. Some of the old royalists were very desirous that Friends would prosecute them; but George Fox says, with his usual Christian spirit, "we told them that we left them to the Lord, to whom vengeance belonged, and he would repay it."

The Episcopal Church being now restored, the bishops and clergy were earnest in the re-establishment of their form of worship; and not content with the liberty of worshipping God themselves, according to their own judgment, they endeavoured to obtain laws, in which they were too successful, to compel others to conform to the same. This induced George Fox to publish a paper on the nature and freedom of Christ's worship, and on the impropriety of using compulsory means to promote or establish it. He was also about this time, engaged in verbal controversies with people of almost all religious professions. The Papists and Jesuits were then disposed to speak favourably of Friends, and endeavoured to ingratiate themselves into their favour; but George seems to have been soon sensible of their insincerity; and, in a discourse with them, laid open their errors and superstitions, so that they no longer manifested the same favourable disposition. His intuition into the characters of those with whom he conversed, and his uncommon integrity and firmness or mind, made him alike uninfluenced either by fear or favour; and gave him also such an honest, though not a haughty, independence of mind, as few men have possessed.

He now resided a considerable time in London; attending to various matters relating to the society, which he had been the means of establishing.

He took one journey into Essex, and had some very large meetings at Colchester. Near Coggeshall, a priest was convinced; and George had a meeting at his house. But about this time, the people's minds were so much inflamed with the conduct of the Fifth Monarchy-men, that religious meetings of dissenters, and particularly of Friends, were much disturbed. That people had fixed the year 1666 for Christ's personal appearance on earth; and expected that the Saints would, by the means of war, obtain the government. With these sentiments George Fox was so far from uniting, that he had, by a paper which he published, endeavoured to lay open their errors; but, when popular prejudice, especially if accompanied with the fear of personal injury, is once excited, it is not soon allayed; and many persons, at this time, suffered very innocently, on account of the conduct of these misguided religionists.

About this time, a circumstance occurred, on a subject which had caused considerable exercise to Friends. The legality of their marriages, though they had been conducted with great deliberation and solemnity, was sometimes disputed; and much uncertainty seems to have existed on the subject; but George Fox relates a trial at the Assizes at Nottingham, this year, before judge Archer, by which their legality was fully established; nor has

it been, I believe, since that time, brought into dispute. This trial must have afforded great relief to the rising Society; and would, no doubt, excite grateful feelings in their minds.

The testimony which George Fox and his friends, considered it their duty to bear against swearing of all kinds, subjected them to the malicious administration of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, by those who were unfavourably disposed towards them. Although their fidelity to the government was not disputed, they being willing in the most solemn manner they consistently could, to declare their assent to the subjects of these oaths; yet their enemies often made use of this means, to subject them to great suffering. On this occasion, George Fox gave forth a short piece on oaths, in which he concisely states the argument in this manner: The world saith, "Kiss the book;" but the book saith, "Kiss the Son, lest he be angry;" and the Son saith, "Swear not at all; but keep to yea and nay in all your communication; for what is more than this cometh of evil." Notwithstanding this clear and simple argument, not only the practice of swearing continued; but those who conscientiously declined it, were subjected to great suffering, on this as well as other accounts. So numerous and grievous were these sufferings, that George Fox and Richard Hubberthorn, presented

an account of them to the king; in which they state, that three thousand one hundred and seventy-three persons of their society, had been imprisoned during the commonwealth, for their religious principles; thirty-two of whom had died, and seventy-three still remained in prison. They also stated that, since the king's restoration, three thousand and sixty-eight of their Friends, had been imprisoned, besides many other sufferings to which they were subjected. These things were strongly, but modestly, laid before the king; yet we have reason to believe with very little effect.

George Fox seems to have possessed great sensibility of mind, for the sufferings of others; and we may naturally suppose, those of his own Society would particularly engage his attention. In the year 1662, being informed of the imprisonment of Catharine Evans and Sarah Chevers, in the Inquisition on the island of Malta, he applied to a Roman Catholic nobleman (lord D'Aubigny) who promised to use his influence to obtain their release; and which he at length effected. With him, George had some very free and satisfactory religious conversation; and never heard a Papist confess so much as he did.

Having continued nearly two years in and about London, he again went into the country, taking

Alexander Parker and John Stubbs with him. Visiting the meetings of Friends in their way, they came to Bristol, where persecution was very hot; but this was no discouragement to his intrepid spirit. He continued here about two weeks and, on the latter First day, which he spent in that city, his friends, knowing of the resolution which the magistrates had formed to take him, and that they had even raised the trained bands, used much persuasion to discourage him from attending the meeting. He desired them to go to it, without informing them of his own intention. However, he soon followed, and when he came to the meeting, a woman Friend (Margaret Thomas) was preaching. Soon after she had concluded, George stood up, which at first excited great fear and concern in the minds of his timid friends; but the power with which he spake soon removed their fear; and to use his own words, "an heavenly glorious meeting we had." After preaching, he was engaged in supplication; and during these religious public engagements no interruption was given. The soldiers who were to have broken up this meeting, had been engaged elsewhere; and when they came here, the meeting was separated. At the conclusion of the meeting, George, with that pious reference to a Divine Providence which he constantly manifested, told his friends, "that now they might see there was a God in Israel that could de-

liver." "It was indeed," he says, "the immediate power of the Lord that preversed me out of their hands at Bristol, and over the heads of all our persecutors; and the Lord alone is worthy of all the glory, who did uphold and preserve for his name and truth's sake."

Leaving Bristol, he came through Wiltshire and Berkshire to London, having large meetings in his way, respecting which he says: "The Lord's power was over all, and a blessed time it was for the spreading of his glorious truth." He did not continue long in London, but travelled northward, till he came into Leicestershire; having John Stubbs with him. At Swanington, he was arrested by lord Beaumont and a company of soldiers, whilst in a friend's house; and nothing sufficient appearing, on which to ground a commitment, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were tendered; for the refusal of which, and because they "were to have had a meeting," he committed several persons to Leicester jail. It was, however, very difficult to find any one to convey them there, it being harvest time, and the people disliking the employment, of taking their innocent and respectable neighbours to prison. One man was with some difficulty hired, who conveyed them to Leicester, where they were first taken to an inn, the occupier of which, being a magistrate, kindly interested himself to prevent

their going to jail; but several Friends being there already, George Fox and his company preferred their society, to remaining in confinement elsewhere. The jailer was a man of an unkind disposition, and had treated the Friends there with great cruelty; particularly in their meetings which they held in the prison; on which occasions, if any of them were engaged in public prayer, he would come among them with his staff, and beat and abuse them; but a mastiff dog which accompanied him, and which possessed more humanity than his master, would frequently seize his staff and take it from him, when he was using it in this unchristian manner. Notwithstanding this violent disposition in the jailer, George Fox held meetings every First day in the prison yard; to which the prisoners of all descriptions were invited, and several others attended. "Some," he observes, "received the Lord's truth there, who stood faithful witnesses for it ever since."

When the time of the quarter sessions came on, George Fox, and about twenty other Friends, were brought into court, where the oaths were again tendered to ensnare them. After some time they were put upon their trial, and the jury found them guilty, on a mittimus which did not charge them with the breach of any laws, but that "they were to have a meeting." The administration of law

and equity, was indeed still mixed with violence and oppression; party spirit, in these troublesome times, greatly prevailing in those courts, which ought to have administered justice to the people, and to have softened the temper of the times. Though the prisoners were found guilty, and remanded to jail; yet the court, sensible, it seems, of the impropriety of the mittimus, or from some other cause, sent the jailer with a message which he delivered in these civil terms: "Gentlemen, it is the court's pleasure that ye should be set at liberty, except those that are in for tithes: and you know there are fees due to me; but I shall leave it to you to give me what you will."

George Fox and his friends being now liberated, he returned to Swanington, from which place he was committed; and went to lord Beaumont, with a letter he had received from lord Hastings, written in London, addressed to the justices of the session. This letter George did not think proper to deliver to them, though intended to procure his liberty. Beaumont, however, still threatened, that if he and his friends had any more meetings at Swanington, he would break them up, and send the Friends again to prison; which, however, he did not put in execution, though George, notwithstanding his threats, had a meeting at that time with his friends at this place.

He now passed through the counties of Warwick, Northampton, and Bedford, to London, where he staid but a short time; and went into Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk and Lincolnshire; returning by Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire to London. Of this journey he observes, "the Lord's power carried us over the persecuting spirits, and through many dangers; and his truth spread and grew, and Friends were established therein; praises and glory to his name for ever!"

CHAPTER XIV.

1662-3—Visits Friends in the city—Travels into Kent, Sussex, &c. to Cornwall—Returns through Devon, Bristol, &c. to Wales—Thence into the northern counties as far as Northumberland and Cumberland—Comes to Swarthmore—Is committed to Lancaster jail—Undergoes a long and cruel imprisonment there and at Scarborough.

GEORGE FOX now continued in London a short time, visiting the meetings of his friends, "which were very large, and the Lord's power was over all." He and Thomas Briggs, leaving the city, travelled into Kent, and had meetings at Ashford, Cranbrook, and Tenterden. At the last place they were arrested by an officer with a party of soldiers, and examined by him, the mayor of the place, and a lieutenant; all of whom were justices of the peace. After a long examination, in which George Fox had an opportunity of explaining various matters, and of giving them some religious advice, they, being sensible of his and his friend's innocence, at length liberated them in a handsome manner, which he as handsomely acknowledged, telling them their civility was noble.

From Tenterden, George and his companion went to Newick, in Sussex, and had several large meetings in that county and Hampshire. After having a good meeting at Southampton, they went

to Pulmer, or Pulner, in the parish of Ringwood; where a monthly meeting was to be held the next day. The report of this meeting and of George Fox attending, seems to have spread and caused some alarm; so that the trained bands, a sort of local militia, I suppose, were raised to break it up. Coming to the place, a considerable time before the meeting, they did not wait till it commenced; but taking some Friends with them, whom they found in the house or met on the way, they departed. The meeting, which was very large, was held without any disturbance, and with much satisfaction. The magistrates being informed, that notwithstanding their attempts to prevent it, the meeting was held, sent the soldiers a second time, but too late; for it was then over, and Friends gone; by which the persecuting magistrates and officers were much disappointed and enraged. After this meeting, George Fox and his companion rode about twenty miles "to one Frye's in Wiltshire," where they had a quiet and good meeting the next day. Here again it was intended to break up the meeting; but those who were to have done so were called off by a house being broken into in the neighbourhood. Thus these adversaries were disappointed of their malicious designs. Indeed, Providence seemed to interfere various ways between Friends and their persecutors; and particularly by bringing them to a sense of the impropriety of their severe conduct,

when under bodily affliction. Of this, George Fox here relates an instance in a constable, who, being in a very afflicted state of body and mind, wished "he had never meddled with the Quakers; confessing that he never prospered since he had a hand in persecuting them, and that he thought the hand of the Lord was against him for it."

In 1663, passing through Wiltshire, George Fox and Thomas Briggs came into Dorsetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall; having many large and good meetings. At Topsham, they met with Margaret Fell and two of her daughters, also Leonard Fell, and Thomas Salthouse, all from Lancashire; and having been heretofore intimately acquainted, the meeting must have been mutually pleasant.

After finishing their gospel labours in Cornwall, they came through part of Devonshire into Somersetshire, in which county two general meetings were held, which were very large, peaceable, and satisfactory; as were other meetings in those parts. They now came to Bristol, whence, after having some religious service, they went to Slattenford, in Wiltshire, where they had a very large meeting in a barn: "The truth, as it is in Jesus, was published; and many were gathered by it into the name of the Lord."

George Fox now travelled through various counties in England, and part of Wales, till he came to York, "having many meetings in the way; and the Lord's everlasting power was over all." Leaving York he went to Boroughbridge, where he had a very satisfactory meeting. Passing through the county of Durham, he came into Westmoreland, and afterwards to Swarthmore; where he continued but a short time. He had meetings at several places in these parts, where he had laboured much and with great success, a few years before; after which he went by Stricklandhead, where he had a large meeting on a common, into Northumberland. At Derwent-Water, in this county, he was accosted by an ancient woman, with a message of love from her husband, whom George, it seems, had formerly designated by the name of "the tall white old man." He was now one hundred and twenty-two years of age, and would have come to the meeting, had not his horses been engaged. He lived several years after this time.

Having visited Friends in Northumberland, he came to "old Thomas Bewlay's, in Cumberland," where he had "a large and precious meeting;" though persecution was very prevalent in these parts, and the deputy governor of Carlisle, (Musgrave,) appears to have been a great promoter of it. George Fox however met with no disturbance, but

had large and quiet meetings at several places, particularly at Wigton and Pardshaw-Crag. From these parts he went by Keswick into Westmoreland, and, on his entering that county, was informed that justice Fleming had offered five pounds for his apprehension. He was now at his friend Francis Benson's house, who lived near this justice; but though met by a man to whom the offer had been made, and who knew George Fox, he passed through this part of the country without any interruption, and came again to Swarthmore; where colonel Kirby had sent to search for him. The next day George went to his house, where he found the Flemings on a visit to the colonel, who was then about leaving home to attend the parliament in London. George had much conversation with them, after which they parted in a friendly manner, the colonel telling him that he had nothing against him; and others of the company said that he was a deserving man.

He now returned to his kind friends, at Swarthmore, where he heard of a private meeting at a justice's house, at which a warrant was granted to apprehend him; the operation of which he not only had time to escape, but his mind was also at liberty from any religious service in those parts. However, he apprehended that his withdrawing himself, might cause the suffering to fall heavier upon his Friends.

There appears to have been a plot, at this time, formed in the North of England against the king; and George, it seems, feared that his departure might give occasion for suspicion of some concern in this plot. He therefore waited the execution of the warrant; and an officer came with a sword and pistols to apprehend him, with whom, after some conversation, he went to Houlker Hall, the seat of justice Preston, at whose house the warrant was issued; his friend Margaret Fell accompanying him. Here a number of justices and others were collected, before whom he underwent a long examination; the result of which was, the tendering to him the oath of allegiance. This was the common snare for George Fox and his friends, when their enemies could not fix the breach of any law upon them. Like the sacrament to the reformers from popery, the oath became a kind of test of the religious principles of our early Friends; and was made a snare in which their adversaries endeavoured to entrap them; and by this means to bring them under confinement, and perhaps other punishment. On George Fox's refusal to take the oath, it was at first intended to send him to Lancaster jail; but he was afterwards dismissed, on his engaging to appear at the succeeding sessions there, which he accordingly did. The justices on the bench, were Fleming, Spencer, West, and Rawlinson. After some parley about his hat, he was ex-

amined respecting the plot already mentioned. Of this plot George was not only innocent, but having heard of it by a Friend, who received his information from the high sheriff of Yorkshire, he wrote a paper of advice on the subject, to his friends, to keep clear of all such things; a copy of which he also sent to several magistrates, and even to the king. The justices finding nothing on which to criminate him, tendered him the oath of allegiance and supremacy; and after much discourse on the subject of swearing, they committed him to prison. This was in the year 1663, and he continued a prisoner here till 1665, several of his friends being also in prison, for various matters connected with their religious principles. During this long confinement, he underwent several examinations at the assizes, and, simply for his refusing to take an oath, consistently with the express command of Christ, he was continued in prison the time mentioned. In his examination he clearly stated, that those things mentioned in the oath, as plotting against the king, or owning the pope's supremacy, or that of any other foreign power, he utterly denied; but he could not consistently make this declaration in the form of an oath. At the second assizes an indictment was preferred against him for this only offence, on which the jury brought him in guilty; but being brought up next day to receive sentence, he pointed out so many errors and false statements in the in-

dictment, that the judge was obliged, though reluctantly, to liberate him. The judge's disappointment was, however, so great, that he again tendered the oaths, which produced a long conversation, in which George Fox stated his religious scruples in this manner: "Ye have given me a book here to kiss; but the book says, kiss the Son, and the Son says in this book, Swear not at all. I say as the book says, yet ye imprison me. How comes it that the book is at liberty amongst you which bids me not swear, and yet ye imprison me for doing as the book bids me." This simple explanation, with the declaration already mentioned, would have induced a just judge, to have availed himself of the legal opportunity which was put into his hands, to liberate so conscientious a prisoner: but such was the prejudice excited in the minds of many persons, that neither gospel, law, nor equity, were regarded in their proceedings. George Fox was again put to trial on the judge's commitment, and when the indictment was read in court, the judge said to the clerk, "take heed it be not false again:" so conscious was he of the falsity of the former, with respect to dates, &c. After George had heard the indictment read, he requested time to consider of it. On this some further discourse on the subject of swearing ensued, in which he expressly declared, that if he could take any oath, he should take that then offered; but that he had never taken

an oath in his life. He also stated to the judge, that both the early Christians and the reformers from popery, refused to swear, in obedience to Christ's command; with other observations, by which the judge's mind appears to have been so much moderated, that he said he wished the laws were otherwise.

The judge complying with George Fox's request for time to consider of his indictment, left him a prisoner till the next assizes. He had already suffered much during this confinement at Lancaster, by the uncomfortable state of his prison; and though some melioration seems to have now been intended to take place, he was confined during the interval of the assizes, which included the winter of 1664, in a tower, in which he was greatly incommoded, and sometimes almost smothered by the smoke, which came from the prisoners confined under him. In addition to this, the roof of his apartment was in such a state, as to expose his bed t the wind and rain; and his clothes and body were often extremely wet, with endeavouring to stop the apertures by which the rain entered his miserable habitation. All this time, he seems to have been deprived of the benefit of the society of his friends; for so inveterate was the malice of one of the justices, that he charged the jailer "to keep his prisoner close, and to suffer no flesh alive to come at him." By

this confinement George Fox's health was much injured; his body was swelled; and his limbs benumbed: but his mind seems to have retained its confidence in divine sufficiency; which he commemorates in these words: "the Lord's power was over all, supported me through all; and enabled me to do service for him, and for his truth and people."

Another assizes came on, and George Fox was again brought into court. He had already examined his indictment, and had found several errors and omissions in it. "Surely," says he, "the hand of the Lord was in it, to confound their mischievous work against me, and to blind them therein; insomuch that although the indictment was drawn at the former assize, the judge examined it himself, and tried it with the clerks; yet the word subject was left out of this indictment also; the day of the month was put in wrong, and several material words of the oath were left out; yet they went on confidently, thinking all was safe and well." When George Fox was put on his trial, he began again to show the errors of the indictment; but although the judge perceived he was right, yet, instead of liberating him, he ordered the jailer to take him away to prison; and notwithstanding the absence of the prisoner, the trial proceeded, the jury brought in their verdict, guilty, and it appears that

the court recorded him as a premunired person, though he was never brought to receive his sentence, nor was regularly informed of it. Such was the legality, or rather illegality of the judges of those days. But we may perhaps find some excuse for their conduct, in the unsettled state of the times; the violence of many of the king's enemies; and the apprehension of plots against his life or government. Yet, however we may be disposed to excuse, nothing can justify the illegal and unjust conduct of judges, towards this innocent sufferer.

George Fox was now left for imprisonment, without any prospect of its termination; but the justices who had been instrumental in his commitment, and had promoted the severe treatment he had received whilst in jail, began to be ashamed of their conduct; which he had frequently exposed at the assizes, and other times. They therefore obtained liberty from the king and council, to remove him from Lancaster about six weeks after the assizes; but when he was taken out of his uncomfortable prison, he was so weak, that he was scarcely able either to walk or stand. Notwithstanding his great infirmity, he was forced on horseback, and treated with as much cruelty on his removal, as he had been during his confinement. The first stage at which they stopped was Bentham, where he was so much fatigued, that the soldiers who guarded

him, permitted him to rest himself on a bed. That night they came to Giggleswick, and in two days more to York, not knowing all this time whither he was going; nor was he permitted, before he left Lancaster, to see the order for his removal: all was executed *vi et armis*. At York he continued two days, and received some civil treatment, particularly from lord Frecheville, who commanded a troop of horse, and kindly visited him in his prison; the soldiers also were generally tender towards him. Here orders were given to take him to Scarborough Castle.* Stopping at Malton, his friends were permitted to visit him, and his guard conducted themselves with great civility and kindness. They reached Scarborough that night; and the next day he was conveyed to the castle.

It was not till his removal from Lancaster to Scarborough, that George Fox understood he was under the sentence of a premunire; a punishment by which a person is put out of the king's protection, his property, real and personal, is forfeited to the king, and he is to remain a prisoner during the king's pleasure. This severe sentence had been passed upon him without calling him into court to receive it; and consequently without giving him an opportunity to plead against it, either personally, or by counsel. It was upon this sentence that his violent removal from Lancaster to Scarborough,

without showing any legal authority, was supported; and, which might probably be considered some excuse, for the subsequent cruel treatment he received whilst a prisoner there.

During the first part of his confinement at Scarborough, he was placed in a room with a centry to guard him; and being, from his hard treatment, very weak, and subject to fainting, he was permitted to walk out into the yard and take the air, but this reasonable indulgence did not last long; for he was soon after confined in a room which did not secure him from the rain; where he was also incommoded with smoke. When he had been at some expense and pains to make this place more comfortable, his cruel keepers removed him into a worse, in which was no chimney; and being open towards the sea, the rain frequently fell upon his bed, and ran about the room; and when he was thus circumstanced with wet and cold, he could have no fire to warm him. The consequence of such treatment was, as may be supposed, very injurious to his already weakened frame; so that his sufferings became very great; and, in this distressing situation, he was not permitted to have the assistance which his friends would have willingly afforded; they being very rarely permitted to visit him, whilst others were frequently introduced to gaze at, and insult him. The soldiers who were

garrisoned in the castle, were also very unkind; and would sometimes contrive to deprive him of the small and poor provisions which he had. A three-penny loaf generally served him about three weeks; and his drink was principally water, with worm-wood steeped in it. This severe treatment he did not fail to represent to the keepers of the castle, and contrasted their conduct with that of the heathens, among whom the apostle Paul was a prisoner at Rome, to whom it appears his friends had free access. Indeed the treatment which the apostle received from the heathens, was, in every respect, more consistent with christianity, than its persecuting professors afforded to those who differed from them.

Although George Fox's friends, many of whom came a considerable distance to visit him, were denied that privilege; yet other people seem to have had free access, and he had frequent disputes on religious subjects with his visitors of different religious opinions; as papists, presbyterians and episcopalians. In these disputes, he manifested that notwithstanding his great bodily weakness, his mental powers retained their wonted vigour; which he still exercised in support of those gospel truths, in which he most surely believed. But it was not by argument alone that he promoted his re-

ligious sentiments. His peaceable principle manifested itself in a peculiar manner, in the instance of one of his fellow-prisoners challenging him to fight. George perceiving him in a state of intoxication, got out of his way; but the next day, when the man was sober, he came to him and remonstrated with him on his unmanly conduct, in challenging a man to fight, whose principle he knew would not permit him to strike another; but seeing he had challenged him, he was now come to answer him with his hands in his pockets; and reaching his head towards him, said, "here is my hair, here are my cheeks, here is my back." The man was so overcome with this address, that he ran away, whilst the soldiers laughed at him. One of the officers was so well affected with the sight, that he said to George Fox, "you are a happy man, that can bear such things."

After he had been confined some time in Scarborough castle, the governor, it appears, came under disgrace; which produced a little fellow-feeling for his innocent prisoner, whom he afterwards treated with more lenity; and having occasion to go to London, George desired him to speak to his old friend, esquire Marsh, and some others; and inform them of the particulars of his confinement. When the governor returned, he told him that

Marsh said, "He would go a hundred miles barefoot to obtain George Fox's liberty." Several other persons in London also spake favourably of him, which increased the governor's disposition of kindness towards him.

The king being now the only person who could liberate him from his confinement, he was applied to, by letter, in which George gave the king an account of his imprisonment, and the hard usage which he had received. After this, John Whitehead, being in London, applied to esquire Marsh, who kindly undertook the business; and a statement of George Fox's suffering case being put into his hands, he delivered it to the master of requests, sir John Birkenhead, who obtained an order from the king for George Fox's release. This his friend John Whitehead brought to Scarborough, and delivered it to the governor, Jordan Crosslands, who readily put it in execution, and, without requiring any bail, gave his prisoner a passport, dated the first day of September, 1660. The governor, who during the first part of his prisoner's confinement, had treated him harshly, was so softened in his disposition, that when the magistrates of the town sent for soldiers to break up Friends' meetings, he gave his men a secret order not to meddle with them; nor would he receive a present, which George Fox of-

fered him, for the civility and kindness which he had latterly manifested. The soldiers and their officers were also greatly changed, and became very respectful in their conduct. Their character of him was, "he is as stiff as a tree, and as pure as a bell; for we could never bow him."

CHAPTER XV.

1666 to 1669—Remarks on George Fox's imprisonment and oaths—After his release, hears of the fire in London—Travels in divers parts of Yorkshire, and through the counties of Derby, Nottingham, Leicester, &c. to London—Visits the ruins there—Goes to Bristol, and returns to London—Establishes meetings for discipline in London and most parts of the nation—Also promotes schools—Visits Esquire Marsh in London—Disputes with a Papist—Goes into Surrey and Sussex—Turns into Warwickshire—Passes through Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire, &c. to Liverpool—Sails for Ireland, and visits Friends there.

WE are now come to the conclusion of a long and cruel imprisonment. It continued about three years, above one of which was at Scarborough, and the rest of the time at Lancaster. The fortitude and meekness with which it was endured, was consistent with the character of a Christian, suffering for a compliance with his Master's positive command; a command which, however it may be attempted, no sophistry has been able to invalidate. And it is a sorrowful reflection, that, in a christian country, a compliance with so unequivocal an injunction of our common Lord, as that of "Swear not at all," supported as it is by one of his apostles, should have ever subjected those who acted in obe-

dience to it, to such sufferings, as would have disgraced the character of heathens. But though sufferings on this occasion, have now ceased, it is still desirable that so direct a violation of this divine injunction, should be removed from the legal code of all nations, professing the Christian name; in some of which, at least, it may be said as formerly, "Because of swearing (both legal and profane) the land mourneth."

The day after George Fox's release from Scarborough castle, the great fire broke out in London. Some Friends had not only foreseen it, but forewarned the people of it, or some similar calamity. One Friend, in particular, George mentions, who was concerned to go through the streets of London, a short time before the fire, scattering his money up and down, having the knees of his breeches untied, his stockings down, and his doublet unbuttoned; at the same time telling the people, "So should they run up and down, scattering their money and goods, half undressed like mad people, as he was a sign to them;" all which was very soon fulfilled.*

George Fox being now at liberty, staid a few days at Scarborough and its neighbourhood, hav-

* See Sewell's History of the Quakers, for further particulars relating to this circumstance. Anno 1666.

ing meetings among his friends and others. From Scarborough he went to Whitby, and then turned to Burlington and into Holderness. At Marmaduke Storr's, who probably lived at or near Owstwick, he attended a marriage of two of his friends; on which occasion there was a very large meeting, in which he explained various matters on the subject of matrimony, and on the duties of the married state. This is the first marriage which he mentions attending among his own Friends.

Whilst in Holderness, George visited a priest, who, when he was in that country, in the year 1651, had threatened, If ever he met with George Fox again, he would have his life, unless prevented by George killing him. This man was now very loving and kind, and his wife had become a Friend. Various circumstances of this kind he met with in his travels; many persons who had been violent against him, having become much softened in their minds, and others even joined in society with him. Such are frequently the effects of faithful labour and patient suffering in the cause of truth and righteousness; verifying the truth of the observation: "When a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him."

Leaving Holderness, he came by Malton, Hull, and Howden, to York. Here he had a large

meeting, and visited justice Robinson, now an ancient man, who, at Pickering, had formerly shown much kindness to him; and on various occasions had manifested a favourable disposition to Friends; which his successors for several generations have continued to evince. From York, George Fox passed through the south-west part of the county, till he came to Synderhill-Green, on the borders of Derbyshire, where he had formerly had some large meetings, at which many had been convinced of the rectitude of the doctrine which he preached. Here he again had a large and satisfactory meeting; but narrowly escaped being arrested, a warrant being issued at the instigation of the priest of the place. The constables, however, were too late for the meeting, and thus missed of their object. He now passed into Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, having meetings at Skegby and Mansfield; after which he came to Nottingham, where he had a large and quiet meeting. Of the society here he makes this observation: "Friends were brought to sit under their teacher, the grace of God, which brought them salvation; and were established upon the rock and foundation, Christ Jesus." Here he visited John Reckless, who was now a Friend, but had been sheriff of the county, and whose prisoner he had been in the year 1649.

Hence George Fox passed towards London, through Leicestershire, Warwickshire, Northamp-

tonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire. In Leicestershire, as usual, he visited his relations. He had many large and precious meetings in these counties; but travelling he found very difficult and painful, from the great stiffness in his limbs, and other infirmities, occasioned by his long and severe imprisonments. He could not even bear to be near the fire, nor to eat warm meat, which he imputes to having been kept so long from them. When he came to London, he visited the ruins occasioned by the fire; on which he observes, "I saw the city lying, according as the word of the Lord came to me concerning it, several years before."

Notwithstanding his great bodily weakness, he left London and travelled as far as Bristol, having large meetings at various places, both going and returning. About this time, and in the course of this journey, he had the satisfaction of seeing many, who had been drawn aside by John Perrot and others, convinced of their error, and condemning their conduct.*

* John Perrot thought himself more enlightened than George Fox, and objected to Friends uncovering their heads, whilst a minister was engaged in prayer; in which notion many joined him. Afterwards he let his beard grow, in which some also united him; but, at length, going to America, he wore a sword, and, getting a place in the government, he became a severe enacter of oaths; and wholly abandoned principles for which he had once endured persecution.

George Fox now seeing his Friends generally established in sound Christian doctrine and practice; became concerned for their preservation therein; and that the reputation of the new society, might be preserved from those reflections to which it might become subject, from those whose conduct should be disorderly, or in other respects inconsistent with their religious profession. For this purpose, and also that the poor might be properly provided for, he recommended the establishment of meetings for discipline. Quarterly meetings of this kind had, it seems, been already held in some places;* but these took in too large a district, and were not held sufficiently frequent for the purposes designed. He therefore proposed the holding of meetings monthly, of which five were now established in the city of London. These meetings were soon extended generally over the nation, still retaining the quarterly meetings, in which several monthly meetings united, and exercised a religious care over each other. These quarterly meetings afterwards united and formed a yearly meeting, which is held in London, and may be considered like the legislative body; besides attending to other matters connected with the general interests of the society. As the female sex can, in many cases, best attend to their own concerns, women's meetings

* In the north of England, some meetings for discipline were settled as early as the year 1652

were also recommended by this wise, vigilant, and liberal promoter of the welfare of the society, which he had been instrumental in establishing; and the adoption of them has been found extremely beneficial to their own sex, and very relieving to their brethren. It is remarkable that the system of discipline recommended by George Fox in the year 1666, and about that time generally established in the society, both in this and other nations, has undergone very little, if any, alteration since that time; having been found equal to all the circumstances which have occurred, in the course of about one hundred and fifty years. Such was the wisdom, I believe more than human wisdom, with which it was planned, that though many attempts have been made to subvert it, by weak, or worse than weak members, it may be now considered as having surmounted all opposition, and being likely to continue as long as the society exists, for whose benefit it was formed.

After the establishment of the five monthly meetings in London, George Fox travelled into Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and many other counties, till he came into Wales and Lancashire. In this journey his principal concern appears to have been, the establishment of meetings for discipline, in which he met with some opposition, in a few places. He also wrote to his Friends in some of the more

northern counties, and Scotland, recommending the practice he was concerned to promote; and his advice, it appears, was generally complied with. In this journey he travelled in great bodily weakness and pain, being scarcely able to mount or dismount his horse; but "my spirit," he says, "being earnestly engaged in the work the Lord had concerned me in, and sent me forth about, I travelled on therein, notwithstanding the weakness of my body, having confidence in the Lord, that he would carry me through, as he did by his power."

In the course of this journey, though a persecuting spirit was frequently manifested, by Magistrates and others, yet he met with no material interruption in his travels. At Shrewsbury, the Mayor hearing of his being there, collected the officers to consult what to do against him, saying, "the great Quaker of England is come to town;" but when they were met together, they were so divided among themselves, as not to be able to effect their purpose. Several other deliverances he experienced in this journey. Returning by Bristol, where meetings for discipline were also established, he came again to London. His principal concern here, at this time, appears to have been, to make proper regulations respecting the society's proceedings in marriage. These regulations were, "that marriages should be laid before the men's monthly or quarterly meet-

ings; that Friends might see, that the relations of those that proceeded in marriage, were satisfied; and that the parties were clear from all others; and that widows had made provision for their first husband's children, before they married again; that so all things might be kept clean and pure, and done in righteousness to the glory of God."

Having now procured the establishment of a salutary discipline, in many parts of the Society, his next concern appears to have been the promotion of a suitable education for the youth. Leaving London for a short time, he went into Hertfordshire, where, after visiting his friends, and establishing several monthly meetings, he, on his return towards London, recommended the establishment of a school at Waltham, for the education of boys; and another at Shacklewell, for instructing girls and young women, "in whatsoever things were civil and useful in the creation." These are his own words, which bespeak an enlargement of mind and views, beyond the inferior and most common branches of education. This was in the year 1667.

After a short residence in London, he travelled in 1668 toward South Wales, returning by the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Hants, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent, to London. His

principal concern, in this journey, appears to have been the establishment of monthly meetings for discipline, in those parts which he had not already visited for that purpose. About this time he wrote to his Friends in Ireland, Holland, Barbadoes, and several parts of America, recommending the same practice, which was, no doubt, generally adopted. "Since these meetings were settled," he observes, "many mouths have been opened in thanksgiving and praise, and many have blessed the Lord that he sent me forth in this service; yea with tears have many praised him."

Whilst George Fox was in London, he paid a visit to his kind friend, Marsh, by whom he was received with much respect, and invited to dine with him; which however he declined. Here he had a controversy with a Roman Catholic, after which he took a private opportunity with Justice Marsh, to interest him in favour of his Friends, who suffered much from the oaths of allegiance and supremacy being often tendered to them. The Justice manifested his usual kindness, both towards George and the society; and seems to have exerted himself as much as was in his power, to alleviate their sufferings. About this time I find an observation in these words; "We had great service in London; the Lord's truth came over all.—Many

who had gone out came in again, confessing and condemning their outgoings."

Having finished his present service in the city, he visited Friends again in Surrey and Sussex; after which he travelled northward by Warwick, Birmingham, and Nottingham, into Yorkshire. At York he attended the quarterly meeting, in which seven monthly meetings were already established, and seven more were now added. The society, it appears, had greatly increased in this county, particularly in the northern and eastern parts of it; but since that time, it has been most numerous in the south-west parts. The Assizes being at the time of the quarterly meeting, at York, George Fox met with and visited his old friend Justice Hotham, of whose early tenderness and kindness to him, he appears to have been very feelingly sensible.

Leaving York, he travelled towards Whitby and Scarborough. At the latter place he was kindly invited by the governor, to visit him and his wife; which he accordingly accepted, and was very courteously received. Passing over the Wolds, and through Holderness, he turned into the western parts of the county, till he came to John Moor's at Eldreth, near Settle. Here he had a large and satisfactory meeting. Colonel Kirby, an old persecutor, who had threatened George Fox, and had

offered forty pounds to any man who would take him, was now confined near this place with the gout, incapable of fulfilling his threats.

An exercise now came upon him to visit Friends in Ireland, where it appears the Society had been for several years established. Leaving Yorkshire, he passed through Staffordshire and Cheshire to Liverpool, where he, with Robert Lodge, James Lancaster, Thomas Briggs, and John Stubbs, took shipping for Ireland. Being at sea on the first day, George held a religious meeting with the passengers and sailors, and preached to them; which occasioned this remark from the master of the vessel: "Come, here are things that you never heard in your lives." On their landing in Ireland, and coming near to Dublin, George says, "The earth and air smelt, methought, with the corruption of the nation; so that it yielded another smell to me than England did, which I imputed to the Popish Massacres, that had been committed, and the blood that had been spilt in it, from which a foulness ascended." Such were the fine feelings of this tender-hearted Christian, on various occasions, where places had been marked with persecution and bloodshed.

On their arrival in Dublin, George Fox and his companions went to an inn, not being able at first to find any of their own Friends; but these soon

found them, and received them with great joy. They made but a short stay in that city, going to a meeting for one of the provinces; after attending which, they proceeded towards Cork. At one place where they had a meeting, the Papists manifested much dissatisfaction; on which George sent them a challenge, "to try their God and their Christ, which they made of bread and wine." This not being accepted, he told them that they were worse than the Priests of Baal, who were willing to try their wooden God; but they were not willing to try theirs of bread and wine. He also told them, that Baal's priests did not eat their God, as they did, and then make another. These were simple and cogent truths; but it is to be feared made little or no impression on their benighted minds.

The Mayor of Cork appears to have been of a persecuting spirit. He issued four warrants against George Fox, and sent descriptions of him to places at a great distance, in order to have him imprisoned. Notwithstanding this, George rode into that city, and passed the Mayor's door, who saw and knew him, without being apprehended. Some other Magistrates also manifested the same disposition as the Mayor of Cork; "yet," says he, "the Lord disappointed all their counsels, defeated all their designs against me; and by his good hand of Providence, preserved me out of all their snares, and

gave us many sweet and blessed opportunities to visit Friends, and spread truth through that nation. Friends were greatly refreshed and comforted, in feeling the love of God. Oh the brokenness that was amongst them in the flowings of life! so that in the power and spirit of the Lord, many together broke out into singing with audible voices, making melody in their hearts."

After travelling over great part of Ireland, and being engaged in various controversies, as well as visiting the meetings of Friends, he returned to Dublin; where he attended their meeting on the first day of the week, which, he observes, was very large and precious. Here he took shipping for Liverpool, after parting with his Friends with much tender affection. His visit to that nation appears to have produced a very favourable opinion of Friends there, whom he describes as "a good, weighty and true people, sensible of the power of God, tender of his truth, and having good order in their meetings."

CHAPTER XVI.

1669 to 1671.—Returns from Ireland—Travels through Lancashire, Cheshire, &c. to Nailsworth, in Gloucestershire. Singular circumstance occurs there.—Goes to Bristol. Is married to Margaret Fell.—Passes through Wilts, Berks, Oxon, and Bucks, to London. Endeavours to obtain his wife's release from premunire. Sufferings in consequence of the Conventicle Act.—Travels into various Counties.—Suffers much in body and mind, on account of profaneness and persecution.—His prayer on that account.

ALL the Friends who accompanied George Fox to Ireland, except John Stubbs, returned with him, having probably been his companions whilst in that country. After a stormy passage, they landed at Liverpool, and proceeded through Lancashire, Cheshire, &c. into Gloucestershire. At Nailsworth in this county, he heard of a report that he was turned Presbyterian; and that a pulpit was prepared for him in a yard in that place, where it was supposed a thousand people would attend the next day to hear him. This report arose from a person of the name of John Fox having appointed a meeting there, whose name was, it appears by design, changed to George Fox. A very large meeting was collected: but the people finding that they were imposed upon, many hundreds left the meeting, and came

to one then collected by the real George Fox, very near the other. The people were sober and attentive, and some of them said, they liked George Fox the Quaker's preaching, better than George Fox the Presbyterian's. "Thus," he observes, "by my providential coming into these parts, at that time, this false report was discovered, and shame came over the contrivers of it."

From Nailsworth he went to Bristol, where he met with his friend Margaret Fell, who was there on a visit to one of her daughters. George had for some time past, entertained a prospect of marriage with Margaret; and had already communicated his views to her, with which she appears to have united. "But now," to give the narrative in his own words, "after I was come back from Ireland, and come to Bristol, and found Margaret Fell there, it opened in me from the Lord, that the thing should now be accomplished; and, after we had discoursed the thing together, I told her, if she also was satisfied with the accomplishing of it now, she should send for her children, which she did. And when the rest of her daughters were come, I asked both them and her sons in law, if they had any thing against it, or for it, desiring them to speak; and they all severally expressed their satisfaction therein. Then I asked Margaret, if she had fulfilled and performed her husband's will to her children.

She replied, the children knew that. Whereupon I asked them, if their mother married, they should not lose by it; and I asked Margaret, whether she had done any thing in lieu of it, which might answer it to the children. The children said, she had answered it to them, and desired me to speak no more of that. "I told them, I was plain, and would have all things done plainly; for I sought not any outward advantage to myself." So after I had acquainted the children with it, our intention of marriage was laid before Friends, privately and publicly, to the full satisfaction of Friends; many of whom gave testimony thereunto, that it was of God. Afterwards, a meeting being appointed on purpose, for the accomplishing thereof, in the public meeting-house at Broadmead, in Bristol, we took each other in marriage, the Lord joining us together in the honourable marriage, in the everlasting covenant and immortal seed of life: in the sense whereof, living and weighty testimonies were borne thereunto, by Friends, in the movings of the heavenly power, which united us together. Then was a certificate, relating both to the proceedings and marriage, openly read and signed by the relations, and by most of the ancient Friends in that city, besides many other Friends from divers parts of the nation."

They continued about a week in Bristol after their marriage, and then went together to Oldstone, where they parted, "betaking ourselves," he says, "each to our several service; Margaret returning homewards, and I passing on into the counties, in the work of the Lord." Travelling through Wilts, Berks, Oxon, and Bucks, he came to London; having "had many large and precious meetings." Whilst in London, he wrote an epistle to the several quarterly meetings, recommending them to put out poor children to useful occupations and trades among Friends; and to establish funds for that purpose; "by which," he says, "ye may come to help the children of poor Friends; that they may rear up their families, and preserve them in the fear of God."

After a short stay in London, he travelled, in 1670, into Essex, Hertfordshire, and other counties, to Leicestershire, where he had requested his wife to meet him; but instead of meeting her he received an account that she was committed to prison at Lancaster, upon an old premunire, from which she had been liberated about a year before. On hearing this, George returned to London, taking several meetings in his way. When he reached London, he advised Mary Lower and Sarah Fell, two of his wife's daughters, to apply immediately to the king, and inform him how their mother

was circumstanced; also to obtain a full discharge both of her person and estate from the effects of the premunire. The business was attended with considerable difficulty; but by close application was at length effected. Sarah Fell went into Lancashire with a letter, written by order of the king, for her mother's liberation; by her George wrote to his wife, whom he thus affectionately addresses: "My dear heart in the truth and life that changeth not."

In the year 1670 an additional exercise fell upon George Fox and his Friends, by the passing of the conventicle act; a law which was occasioned by some tumultuous meetings that had occurred in the country. It forbade more than four persons to meet together, except, I suppose, in the congregations of the church of England. On this fresh trial, George first addressed a letter to magistrates, to show them the unreasonableness of this law, and to soften their minds in the execution of it; after which he addressed an epistle to his friends, to encourage them to faithfulness, and to bear with Christian patience and content, the suffering that was coming upon them. To this he also encouraged them by his example; for the next first day he went to the meeting at Gracechurch street; where he expected the attack would begin. Thus, like a good general, placing himself in the front of the battle, animating his followers by his example and his precepts; being

resolved to face all the dangers of his situation. When he came near the meeting-house, he found all the avenues to it guarded with soldiers. He however got into the court, where a Friend was preaching. After he had finished, George addressed the people, beginning with these words, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" After he had spoken a short time, he was seized by a constable, accompanied with an informer and soldiers, to whom he shortly said, "Blessed are the peacemakers." He was now put among the soldiers, the officer saying, "You are the man I looked for." Some other Friends were also taken with him, and as they were going to the mayor's house, the informer said to them, "It would never be a good world, till all people came to the good old religion that was two hundred years ago." Upon this George charged him with being a Papist, which soon spread among the people; so that after they came to the court of the mayor's house, who was not then at home, the poor man was so intimidated, that he was desirous of making his escape; but when he came into the street, the people cried out, "A Papist informer, a Papist informer." The man was so roughly treated, that George and his friends, those against whom he had informed, desired the constable and soldiers to rescue him out of the people's hands, which they did, and brought him back to the mayor's: but when he at last went away, the

soldiers had again to interfere; and such was the disgust excited against the man, that the soldiers took him to a barber's shop, where he disguised himself by changing his wig, and thus he was enabled to make his escape.

After waiting some time, the mayor came, and first examined some Presbyterian and Baptist teachers, whom he treated rather sharply, and convicted them. To George Fox and his friends he, however, behaved with much mildness, recommending them, as Christ's promise applied to two or three who were met in his name, and the king's indulgence extended to four, to meet in such small numbers as would not infringe the law. This was very plausible; but George soon showed the falacy of his reasoning, replying that "Christ's promise was not to discourage many from meeting in his name, but to encourage the few," wishing him "to consider whether this act would not have taken hold of Christ, with his twelve apostles and seventy disciples:" with more to the same purpose. After some discourse on the hardship of the conventicle act, the mayor took down the names of the Friends, and dismissed them. Being set at liberty, George immediately returned to his post at Gracechurch street, from which he had been taken. Finding the people generally dispersed, he went into a Friend's house, and sent to inquire how his friends had fared

at the other meeting-houses in the city. He found that there had been a general attempt to put the new law in execution. Some Friends were taken, and liberated in a few days; but such was the zeal which animated the minds of Friends, that as soon as some who were preaching were taken down, others stood up to speak; to the admiration of the people. This admiration was increased, by the different conduct of many other dissenters; so that, on the whole, this trying time proved a means of spreading the great and good cause, which George Fox and his friends laboured to promote.

The heat of persecution abating in the city, he felt his mind easy to leave it, and to visit his friends in the country. He attended several meetings in Middlesex, Bucks, and Oxon, which were not disturbed by magistrates or others. At Reading, in Berks, he found Friends generally in prison, whom he visited there, and had a religious meeting with them, which was attended by several other persons. This opportunity was encouraging and refreshing to the prisoners, whom he recommended, with a small present, to the kindness of the jailer.

Travelling awhile longer in Surrey, Sussex, Kent, and Essex, his mind was brought under great exercise, on account of the profaneness and persecution which prevailed in the nation. This

appears to have produced a long and heavy indisposition of body; so that, for a time, both his sight and hearing in a great measure failed him. During his illness, he was removed from one Friend's house to another, in the neighbourhood of London. This was in the winter of 1670 and 1671, in which time, after some improvement in his health, he wrote two short epistles to his friends; and one to the rulers of the nation, whom he faithfully warned, as he had before done, of the evil of persecution, and the sore judgments which would be its consequence. Being also greatly oppressed with the licentiousness which was then openly manifested in the nation, he was engaged to put up a prayer to God, in the following words, which he committed to writing on the 17th day of the 2d month, 1671.

"O Lord God Almighty! Prosper truth, and preserve justice and equity in the land! Bring down all injustice, iniquity, oppression, falsehood, cruelty, and unmercifulness in the land; that mercy and righteousness may flourish.

"O Lord God! Set up and establish verity, and preserve it in the land! Bring down in the land all debauchery, vice, whoredoms, fornication, and this raping spirit, which causeth people to have no

esteem of thee, O God! nor of their own souls or bodies; nor of Christianity, modesty, or humanity.

"O Lord! Put it in the magistrates' hearts to bring down all this ungodliness, violence, cruelty, prophaneness, cursing and swearing; and to put down all these lewd houses and playhouses, which corrupt youth and people; and lead them from thy kingdom, where no unclean thing can enter, neither shall come. Such works lead people to hell. Lord! In mercy bring down all these things in the nation, to stop thy wrath, O God! from coming on the land.

"G. F."

CHAPTER XVII.

1671 to 1673.—Obtains a more complete liberation for his wife.—Sails for America.—Lands in Barbadoes.—Continues there three months.—Goes to Jamaica.—After spending seven weeks there, sails for Maryland.—Thence travels through New Jersey, &c. to Long Island, Rhode Island, and New England.—Returns by East Jersey, &c. to Maryland.—Goes to Virginia and Carolina.—Returns again to Maryland.—Sails for England.—Lands in King's Road, near Bristol.—Writes to his wife.

NOTWITHSTANDING the liberation of Margaret Fox, as before related, by order of the king; yet her persecutors found means, by the new conventicle act, either to retain her in confinement, or soon to recommit her to prison; but, when the violence of the persecution was a little abated, her husband employed a woman Friend, Martha Fisher, and another of her sex, to apply again to the king for her release; who granted a discharge under the broad seal, by which both her person and estate were now effectually cleared from the premunire, under which she had suffered for ten years. On her release, George requested her attendance in London, as he proposed soon to sail for America, and was desirous of her company, previously to his undertaking so long and try-

ing a journey. This request she readily complied with, and they spent several weeks together, at the house of John Rouse, of Kingston, who had married one of Margaret Fox's daughters. The yearly meeting in London, was now at hand, which was "a very large and precious meeting." After it was over, and George had finished some other services in this nation, he embarked at Gravesend, on the 12th of 6th month, 1671, in a yatch called the Industry, for Barbadoes. Twelve of his Friends, two of whom were women, were his companions in the voyage; and most or all of them were under a like religious engagement with himself. Their names were, Thomas Briggs, William Edmundson, John Rouse, John Stubbs, Solomon Eccles, James Lancaster, John Cartwright, Robert Widders, George Pattison, John Hull, Elizabeth Hooton, and Elizabeth Miers.—His wife accompanied him to the Downs, and they parted at Deal; where some of the passengers went on shore. When they had been about three weeks at sea, they were pursued by a Sallee man of war, a kind of piratical vessel of the Algerine States. Without any avowed hostility to a particular nation, these pirates took and plundered all vessels they could meet with.

When it grew dark, they altered their course to miss the enemy; but the piratical vessel changed her course also, and gained upon them. At night

the master and others went into George's cabin, and asked him what they should do; adding "if the mariners had taken Paul's counsel, they had not come to the damage they did." In the conversation that passed, George Fox told them he was no mariner, and that "It was a trial of faith, therefore the Lord was to be waited on for counsel." "So retiring," he says, "in spirit, the Lord showed me, 'That his life and power was placed between us and the ship that pursued us.' I told this to the master and the rest, and that the best way was to tack about and steer our right course, putting out the candles." However, before midnight, the watch called and said, "They are just upon us;" yet George's faith was strong that they should be delivered; and he kept quietly in his cabin. The master and some of the seamen came again and asked him if they might not steer such a point; to which he consented. By this time the moon was quite gone down, a fresh gale arose, and they sailed on briskly, and saw the pirate no more.

The next day, being the first of the week, when they usually had a religious meeting in the ship, George exhorted the people "to mind the mercies of God, who had delivered them; for they might have been all in the Turks' hands by that time, had not the Lord's hand saved them." After a voyage of above seven weeks, they landed at Barbadoes,

where a Sallee merchant told the people that "one of the Sallee men of war saw a monstrous yatch at sea, had her in chace, and was just upon her; but there was a spirit in her that he could not take."

During the voyage, though George was not affected with sea sickness, his health declined very much; for the consequences of his long and great sufferings when in prison, seemed now to be particularly felt in this warm climate; and he experienced great pains, with other very unfavourable symptoms. After this trying voyage, when he landed at Barbadoes, he was taken to the house of a Friend, Richard Forstall; where, and at Thomas Rouse's, he continued several weeks. During this time, his mind in general was pretty cheerful, though he became much exercised on account of the unrighteousness of the people, which lay as a great weight upon him. After above a month's confinement, his spirit became easier, and his bodily health recovered in some degree; but not being able to travel, Friends held their mens and womens meetings for the exercise of Christian discipline, at his lodgings. Here he found many disorders had crept in; and he gave much excellent advice, particularly on the subject of marriage; discouraging this connexion with near kindred, the entering into that state too early in life; and also without waiting a proper time after the decease of a former wife or

husband. He also advised them to be tender of one another's characters, discouraging all defamation and slander. The keeping of registers of their marriages, births, and burials; the providing of suitable burying grounds, the making of their wills, and the proper disposal of legacies left for the service of the society, were all subjects of his care and advice; also the registering the condemnations of those whose conduct had been disorderly; and who, through true repentance, were willing to make public acknowledgment of their outgoings. The negroes likewise, as might be expected, formed a particular part of his care. His first concern for them was, that they should partake of religious instruction, and be trained up in the fear of God; in the next place, that they should be treated mildly and gently, and no cruelty exercised towards them; and lastly, that after several years of servitude, they should be liberated from a state of slavery. Had these wise Christian instructions been generally practised in our West India islands, much happiness would have been substituted for much misery; and many both private and public evils have been prevented.

When he became able to go a little abroad, he visited the Governor of the Island, by whom he was kindly received and treated. After this, he went to Bridge Town, where he and other Friends

had a large meeting. The civil reception which he met with from the Governor being generally known, many of the higher ranks of the people attended the meeting, in which three other Friends having spoken in public testimony, George was rather straitened for time; yet he was enabled, afterwards, to relieve his mind to the general and great satisfaction of those present. Many other large and comfortable meetings he had in this Island, in which he was the means of removing some misrepresentations, that had been industriously circulated against him and his Friends. At one of these meetings, a Colonel Lyne said, "Now I can gainsay such as I have heard speak evil of you, who say you do not own Christ, nor that he died; whereas I perceive that you exalt Christ in all his offices, beyond what I have ever heard before." It appears that the enemies of the society, not being able to raise persecution by the civil or military governors, endeavoured to defame Friends and their principles; but this zealous and active defender of the truth, met his enemies in all their attempts to injure it; and here, not only in his sound gospel preaching, showed the falsehood of their reports; but, in conjunction with some other Friends, he published a paper, fully declaring the faith of the society in God and in Christ; also their belief in the divine inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. Another slander was raised, that Friends taught the negroes

to rebel; which is also noticed and contradicted in this paper. This seems to have arisen from their having had several religious meetings with them, in which the negroes were exhorted to the practice of justice, sobriety, temperance, chastity, and piety; and to be subject to their masters and governors; all of which was directly contrary to the suggestions of the adversaries of the society.

After continuing full three months in this Island, "having visited Friends thoroughly, settled meetings, and dispatched the service for which the Lord brought" him there, and being clear of Barbadoes, he informed the Governor and others of his intention to leave them, and go to Jamaica; for which island he sailed, on the 8th of 11th month, 1671, in company with several other Friends. After a short and pleasant voyage, they landed in Jamaica, where they found several of their companions from England, engaged in gospel labour, with whom they united. Though the minds of many of the people were much corrupted, yet no opposition, either by the Magistrates or the people, appears to have been offered. Many were convinced of the rectitude of those doctrines which were preached to them; amongst whom were several persons of eminence in the island. George Fox visited the Governor twice, by whom and several of the Magistrates, he was kindly received.

After continuing about seven weeks in Jamaica, he and his companions sailed for Maryland; but in their voyage there, they had very stormy weather, and were in great danger of being shipwrecked; particularly in passing through the Gulf of Florida. George's reflections and remarks on this occasion, are distinguished by that piety which formed a prominent feature in his character: "The great God," he observes, "who is Lord of sea and land; and who rideth upon the wings of the wind, did, by his power, preserve us through many and great dangers, when, by extreme stress of weather, our vessel was divers times like to be overset, and much of her tackling broken. Indeed, we were sensible that the Lord was a God at hand, and that his ear was open to the supplications of his people: for when the winds were so strong and boisterous, and the storms and tempests so great, that the sailors knew not what to do, but let the ship go which way she would, then did we pray unto the Lord, who did graciously hear and accept us; and did calm the winds and seas, gave us seasonable weather, and made us to rejoice in his salvation. Blessed and praised be the holy name of the Lord, whose power hath dominion over all, and whom the winds and seas obey."

How similar are these reflections, to those of the excellent Addison, on a like occasion. When describing his perilous situation, he says,

"Think, O my soul! devoutly think,
How with affrighted eyes,
Thou saw'st the wide extended deep,
In all its horrors rise.

Confusion dwelt in ev'ry face,
And fear in ev'ry heart;
When waves on waves, and gulphs on gulphs,
O'ercame the pilot's art.

Yet then from all my griefs, O Lord!
Thy mercy set me free,
Whilst in the confidence of pray'r,
My soul took hold on thee.

For though in dreadful whirls we hung,
High on the broken wave,
I knew thou wast not slow to hear,
Nor impotent to save.

The storm was laid, the winds retir'd,
Obedient to thy will;
The sea that roar'd at thy command,
At thy command was still.

In midst of dangers, fears, and death,
Thy goodness I'll adore,
And praise thee for thy mercies past,
And humbly hope for more."

The sense of the succeeding Stanza, though not expressed, in words, by George Fox, was strongly acted up to in his life, and at his death :

"My life, if thou preserv'st my life,
Thy sacrifice shall be;
And death, if death must be my doom,
Shall join my soul to thee."

On their arrival in Maryland, they went with John Burnyeat, a Friend from England, who had been visiting these parts, and had called a general meeting of Friends in this province, that he might take leave of them previously to his departure for his own country. This proved very seasonable for George and his companions; it being a very large meeting, and attended by many of the most respectable inhabitants of the country, who appeared to be well satisfied with this religious opportunity. After the public meetings were over, the meetings for discipline began; and the whole continued four days, terminating to the great satisfaction of those who attended. This was also the case with a meeting at Cliffs, where many who had been backsliders, were restored; and several meetings were established for taking care of the affairs of the church. Whilst in this province, he and his companions had a large meeting on the eastern shore, to which he desired the Indian Emperor and his Kings might be invited. The Emperor came, but the Kings

being at a greater distance, and having some difficulty in obtaining leave of their council, did not arrive till after the meeting was over. George, however, had two religious opportunities with them that evening, and they heard the word of the Lord willingly, confessing to its truth, and manifesting a desire to attend more religious meetings. Thus did this laborious Minister of the Gospel, publish its saving doctrines to Jew and Gentile; to professing Christians, and unenlightened Heathens, earnestly desiring that all might come to the knowledge of the truth and be saved.

Having finished his services, for the present, in Maryland, he and his companions set off for New England on horseback; being desirous of attending a half year's meeting on Long Island. In their journey through a wilderness country, they encountered many difficulties; sometimes travelling a whole day without seeing any human being or habitation. They frequently slept in the woods by a fire, and were sometimes accommodated in the Indian wigwams. One night they lodged at the house of an Indian King, who, George says, was a very pretty man. He and his wife entertained them very lovingly, and gave them the best accommodation they had; but having caught little that day in hunting, they could not spare much provisions. It seems these Indians could not speak English; but,

at another place, an Indian King came to them who understood the English language; and George spoke much to him and his people, who manifested great love and kindness on the occasion.

The route which they had taken led them over several rivers, as Miles River,* Wye, Chester, Saxifrax, Bohemia, and Delaware. Near the last river they stopped at a Dutch town, called Newcastle, formerly New Amsterdam, from which place they proceeded by West and East Jersey; and at length arrived safely on Long Island, about two days before the half year's meeting began, which they were particularly desirous of attending. They stopped at Gravesend and Flushing, in their way to Oyster Bay, where the meeting was held. It continued four days, and was attended by several persons who had opposed themselves to the establishment of meetings for discipline. After the other services of the meeting were over, George had an opportunity with those discontented people, who were much brought down; and, to use his own words, "the glorious truth of God was exalted and set over all."

From Long Island the Friends sailed to Rhode Island, where they arrived on the 30th of the third

* Perhaps Wicomico.

month, 1672. About a week after their arrival, came on the yearly meeting for New England, and other colonies adjacent. This meeting continued six days; chiefly occupied in public meetings, which were largely attended by the people of all ranks; for there being no Priests on the island, and no restrictions as to religious worship, the people flocked in from all parts, and heard what was delivered to them with much attention, diligence, and affection, during four days. The public meetings being over, the mens meeting was next held, and after that the womens. In these meetings much advice was communicated respecting the service of them, and "that all might be kept clean, sweet, and savoury." When this large meeting was finished, Friends had been so nearly united together in the bonds of gospel love and fellowship, that it was hard to part, and they spent two days in taking leave of each other, and of those who lived in the island; after which, "being mightily filled with the presence and power of the Lord, they went away with joyful hearts to their several habitations."

Finding great openness among the people, George felt his mind engaged to continue longer on the island; Robert Widders, who appears to have been his intimate friend and fellow-labourer, remaining with him. Whilst here, a marriage was solemnized, which George and his companion at-

tended. The manner in which it was conducted gave great satisfaction to those present, who observed that they "never saw such a solemn assembly, on such an occasion; so weighty a marriage, and so comely an order." In this island he also met with some Ranters, who opposed the establishment of meetings for discipline; with these he appointed a meeting, which, it seems, terminated to satisfaction. From Rhode Island, he made an excursion to Providence, about thirty miles, where the governor and many others accompanied him. The meeting was very large, and the people went away much satisfied, desiring to have another meeting.

Having now finished his service in Rhode Island, he went to Narraganset; where he had a very large meeting, which was of good service. Most of the people had never heard Friends preach before; and they were much affected with what was communicated to them. At one place in this neighbourhood, George heard that some of the magistrates, who did not then understand him and his principles, said, "If they had money enough they would hire him to be their minister;" but when he heard this, he said to his friends, "It is time for me to be gone; for if their eye is so much to me, or any of us, they will not come to their own teacher."

From Narraganset, George and his companion returned to Rhode Island; and soon after sailed for Shelter Island, about twenty-seven leagues distance; having, besides Robert Widders, James Lancaster, George Pattison, and John Jay, in company. They had a tedious passage of three days. Here they had a meeting on the first day of the week with the European inhabitants; and a few days afterwards, with the Indians. This meeting was attended by the king and his council, and about a hundred Indians more. They sat down quietly like Friends, and were very attentive whilst George spoke to them by an interpreter. They afterwards manifested much love; and confessed to the truth of what was delivered to them. Before he left the island, he had another meeting with the inhabitants, which was very large and satisfactory, the people manifesting much regard both to him and to the truth which he preached. In concluding the account of his services in this island, he makes this pious ejaculation; "Blessed be the Lord! his name spreads and will be great among the nations, and dreadful among the heathen."

Having spent about ten days in Shelter Island, they sailed for Long Island, where, after a very trying passage, they landed on the 7th of the 6th month, 1672, in Oyster Bay. Here they had a

large meeting; after which they went to Flushing, where a meeting was also held; which was attended by many hundreds of people from different parts of the island. Of this George observes, "A glorious and heavenly meeting it was; (praised be the Lord God!) and the people were much satisfied."

From Flushing they passed to Gravesend, where they had "three precious meetings;" after which they sailed for a new country, since called Jersey. They landed in Middletown harbour; and the next day travelled into the country, about thirty miles, through woods and bogs. One of the latter in particular was very dangerous, and had obtained the name of Purgatory. After a trying journey, they came to Shrewsbury, where they had a very satisfactory meeting on the first day of the week. During the same week was held the men's and women's meetings for transacting the discipline of the church. These meetings George Fox was very earnest to establish in this country, as well as in Europe; being, it seems, more and more convinced of their utility and importance.

Whilst they were at Shrewsbury, John Jay, a Friend of Barbadoes, who had accompanied them from Rhode Island, was thrown from a horse, by which his neck was dislocated. When taken up, he was laid on a tree, and considered as dead.

George Fox hasted to the place as quickly as possible, and, when he came there, united in the general sentiment. As he stood over him, "pitying him and his family," he took hold of his head, and finding it move any way, he began to be apprehensive of the cause of his situation; on which he endeavoured to put the head and neck into their right place. The means he used for this purpose he thus describes: "Throwing away my stick and my gloves, I took his head in both my hands, and setting my knees against the tree, I raised his head, and perceived there was nothing out or broken that way. Then I put one hand under his chin, and the other behind his head, and raised his head two or three times with all my strength, and brought it in. I soon perceived his neck began to grow stiff again, and then he began to rattle in his throat, and quickly after to breathe. The people were amazed; but I bid them have a good heart, and be of good faith, and carry him into the house. They did so, and set him by the fire; but I bid them get him something warm to drink, and put him to bed." In consequence of this treatment, the Friend soon recovered; and the next day travelled with them about sixteen miles, to Middletown; and many hundred miles afterwards.

At Middletown they had a large and satisfactory meeting, most of the inhabitants of the place at-

tending it. After this meeting, they went to the harbour about five miles, intending to proceed from that place into Maryland, through the woods; for which purpose they obtained Indian guides as they passed along. After five or six days hard and difficult travelling, they came to Newcastle, where as well as at Middletown, they had been on their way to Long Island. Here the governor resided, and kindly gave George Fox an invitation to his house, which he readily accepted; his companions being also well provided for. The next day, being the first of the week, a meeting was held in the governor's house, which the inhabitants of the place generally attended. Many of the people confessed to the truth of what was delivered, and some, it appears, were so far convinced, as to make public profession of it.

Leaving Newcastle, they travelled through woods and bogs about three days more, till they came to the house of Robert Harwood, on Miles River. Though very weary, and their clothes much soiled with travelling through the bogs, they next day attended a meeting, which was to be held in the neighbourhood; and on the First Day following, they had a meeting at another place, with which the people were much satisfied. The wife of a judge who attended the meeting, said she had rather hear

these Friends once, than the priests a thousand times.

After attending some other meetings, they went to a general meeting for Friends in Maryland. This meeting held five days, the first three being employed in meetings for public worship, to which people of other societies came, both Protestants and Papists: Maryland being at first principally settled by Papists. The meetings were very large for that new settled country, a thousand people sometimes tending. It seems to have been held near one of the large rivers, and the number of boats passing backward and forward gave it the appearance of the river Thames at London. "This was," (to use George's own words,) "a very heavenly meeting, wherein the presence of the Lord was gloriously manifested, Friends were sweetly refreshed, the people generally satisfied, and many convinced; for the blessed power of the Lord was over all: everlasting praises to his holy name!"

The men's and women's meetings occupied two days; and after these were finished, George and his companions took leave of Friends in this part of Maryland, whom, he says, they left well established in the truth. At what place this meeting was held does not appear. After it was over, they went by water to the western shore, and thence to Vir-

ginia, having several meetings in their way, which were numerously attended, and in which it appears their gospel labours were blessed to the edification and convincement of many. The last meeting in Maryland was at Pattuxen, from which place they sailed for Virginia, on the 5th of 9th month, 1672, and after a passage of three days, arrived at Nansemond, about two hundred miles from Maryland. Here they had a large and satisfactory meeting, as well as at some other places of Virginia; but did not make much stay in this province, hastening to North Carolina; yet they met with great openness among the people, and a favourable reception of the gospel truths which they were concerned to preach.

In their journey from Virginia to Carolina, they found travelling very difficult. They went by Pagan Creek to Summerton, and thence to Bonner's Creek in North Carolina; passing through many bogs and swamps, and sleeping, except one night at Summerton, in the woods. At Bonner's Creek they came to a house, the first they saw in Carolina, and here lodged by the fire. Finding themselves much wearied with travelling on horseback, they took a canoe, and passed down the creek to Hugh Smith's on Macocomocock river, and afterwards down the river Maratick to Connicoak bay, from which place they went to the Governor's;

who with his wife received them kindly. Here one person (a doctor) would dispute with the Friends, which afforded a favourable opportunity for explaining their principles to the people; particularly respecting the light and Spirit of God. This the doctor denied to be universal, and particularly that it was not extended to the Indians. An Indian being near, George called him in, and asked him, "Whether or no when he did lie, or do wrong to any man, there was not something in him that did reprove him for it." To this the Indian replying in the affirmative, the doctor was shamed before the governor and the people; and being unable to support his argument, he went so far as to deny the Scriptures, thus exposing himself still further to the censure of the company. After lodging at the governor's house, and being very courteously entertained, the Friends took boat and went about thirty miles on the river, to the house of Joseph Scot, one of the representatives of the country. Here, and at a place about four miles distant, they had meetings, in which their ministry appears to have been well received.

At several places, during his travels in America, George was engaged to hold meetings, or take opportunities of religious conversation among the Indians; his truly catholic spirit embracing "all nations, and kindreds, and peoples, and tongues."

Whilst in this part of Carolina, he visited this people, and spoke to them by an interpreter, showing them, among other things, "that God made the world in six days, and made but one woman for one man; but that God did drown the old world for their wickedness." He also spoke to them "concerning Christ, showing them that he died for all men; for their sins as well as for others, and that he had enlightened them, as well as others, with his good Spirit." The Indians, among whom were their young king and several of their chief men, received kindly what was communicated to them.

After spending about eighteen days in the northern part of Carolina, in which their gospel labours had been blessed to many of the people, they returned towards Virginia, taking their horses again at Bonner's Creek; and, after two days hard and dirty travelling among the bogs, they again came to Summerton; where they met with a kind reception from a woman, who entertained them when there before. Here they had, the next day, a very good meeting with the inhabitants; after which they left the place, and travelled about two days, till they came among Friends in Virginia. In this journey George Fox says, "we observed great variety of climates, having passed, in a few days, from a very cold to a warm and spring-like country; but the power of the Lord is the same in

all, is over all, and doth reach the good in all; praised be the name of the Lord for ever!" Thus did this good man fulfill the apostolic injunction, "In every thing give thanks."

George Fox and his companions spent about three weeks in Virginia; having many meetings, in general to good satisfaction. They had also some close labour among their own Friends, finding some disorderly and wrong dispositions had crept in, which they endeavoured to suppress and correct with a good degree of success. When this service was finished, they returned into Maryland by water, having a tedious passage of about fourteen days up the Chesapeak, in an open boat; during which time, landing at night, they frequently lodged in the woods, the wolves sometimes roaring about them. The weather also was extremely cold, by which they suffered considerably. They arrived at James Preston's, on Pattuxen River, about one in the morning, having sailed about two hundred miles. The next day, being the first of the week, notwithstanding their great weariness, they attended a meeting in the neighbourhood; and during the week had several other meetings. They also visited an Indian King, with several of his people, having some religious conversation with them, and they manifested much kindness and love.

After travelling several days, and holding meetings at different places, they returned to the house of their Friend, James Preston, which they found burnt to the ground, through the carelessness of a female servant; in consequence of which, the Friends lodged three nights on the ground by the fire, in the eleventh month. The weather at this time was extremely severe, more so than usual in these parts; but one day the wind turning to the southwards, the heat was so great as to be scarcely tolerable; yet the day following the wind returning to the north, they found it difficult to bear the cold. In our own country, sudden and great changes are not uncommon; but the extremes of this climate, appear to have been much greater and more sudden than we experience, or it would scarcely have been noticed.

After spending about four months in Maryland, and having many meetings, some of which were for the discipline of the church, and one among the Indians, George and his companions, found their minds at liberty to return to England, but continued till the general meeting for the province, then approaching. This meeting was very numerously attended, both by Friends and others. It was a time of divine favour, and prepared their minds for the separation, which the next day took place; George and his companions sailing on the 21st of

the 3d month, 1673, after taking an affectionate leave of those among whom they had been engaged in gospel labour, "parting in great tenderness, in the sense of the heavenly life and virtuous power of the Lord, which was lovingly felt amongst them."

On the 28th of the 4th month, they arrived in King Road, in the Severn, having had a stormy but short passage, after they were clear of the Capes of Virginia. They landed at Shearhampton, and rode to Bristol, where they were joyfully received by their Friends; and that evening he wrote to his wife to inform her of his arrival. This letter was principally a pious effusion of grateful acknowledgments, for the mercies and preservations he had experienced in his late travels, in a wilderness country. It began thus: "Dear heart. This day we came into Bristol, near night, from the sea; glory to the Lord God over all for ever, who was our convoy, and steered our course; who is the God of the whole earth, of seas and winds, and made the clouds his chariot; beyond all words, blessed be his name for ever! He is over all in his great power and wisdom, amen!"

CHAPTER XVIII.

1673 to 1677.—Continues about Bristol, where his Wife and others meet him.—Travels into Gloucester and Wilts.—Describes the service of women's meetings.—Comes to London.—Travels with his Wife towards Swarthmore.—Is arrested on the way.—Is imprisoned at Worcester.—Removed by Habeas Corpus to London.—Afterwards to Worcester, and again to London.—Is honourably liberated, and goes with his wife to Swarthmore.—Continues there nearly two years.

GEORGE FOX intending to continue some time about Bristol, his wife came to him there, with two of her daughters, and her son in law Thomas Lower. Several other Friends, among whom were William Penn and his wife, also came to visit him. About this time, a great fair was held at Bristol, which bringing a large concourse of people together, and continuing several days, Friends, it appears, embraced the opportunity, which was thus afforded, of publishing their doctrines, and preaching the gospel of Christ to the people. George had much service in the meetings, which were now held; in which he observes, "many deep and precious things were opened by the eternal Spirit, which searcheth and revealeth the deep things of God."

Having finished his present service in Bristol, he travelled into Gloucestershire and Wilts. At Slaughtenford, in the latter county, he was concerned to recommend the establishment of a women's meeting; but he met with some opposition, which, however, he was enabled to overcome. The object of these meetings he thus perspicuously describes: "That faithful women, called to the belief of the truth, made partakers of the same precious faith, and heirs of the same everlasting gospel of life and salvation as the men are, might, in like manner, come into the possession and practice of the gospel order; and therein be meet helps to the men, in the affairs of the church, as they are outwardly in civil and temporal things. That so all the family of God, women as well as men, might know, possess, perform, and discharge their offices and services in the house of God; whereby the poor might be better taken care of; the younger sort instructed, informed, and taught in the way of God; the loose and disorderly reproved and admonished in the fear of the Lord; the clearness of persons proposing marriage more closely and strictly inquired into, in the wisdom of God; and all the members of the spiritual body, the church, might watch over and be helpful to each other in love."

From Wiltshire he proceeded through Hampshire, Oxfordshire, and Bucks, to London; where

he found the Baptists and Socinians had been writing against the society, which brought much exercise on his mind; but their books were answered, and their scandalous reflections confuted. It appears, that he continued a considerable time in and about London; making excursions into Essex, Middlesex, and Surrey. Whilst in the city, he was concerned to obtain relief for some of his Friends, who were suffering for opening their shops upon fasts and holidays, as they are called. He considered such observances, in these times, at best but human appointments, if they did not obscure the light of the gospel; and, being often connected with circumstances in which Friends could not unite, they therefore early declined complying with these practices; for which, at this time, as at many others, they underwent much suffering. After he had performed this service, he accompanied his wife and one of her daughters to Hendon, in Middlesex; and they afterwards paid a visit to William Penn, at Rickmansworth. George and his wife were now going for the first time, after having been married four years, to their own home at Swarthmore; but this reasonable attempt was prevented by the malice of his enemies. On their way, he visited his Friends, and had the satisfaction to find a considerable increase of their numbers in several parts; but in passing through Worcestershire, he was arrested, after a meeting at Armscot, and, with

Thomas Lower, committed to Worcester jail, by a strange warrant from Henry Parker, a Justice. Of this imprisonment he appears to have had a previous sense given him, and had mentioned it to his wife, who, with her daughter, was accompanied home by some kind Friends. She seems to have felt the disappointment very keenly, as may reasonably be supposed, and is also inferred from the following letter from her husband.

"DEAR HEART!

"Thou seemedst to be a little grieved when I was speaking of prisons, and when I was taken. Be content with the will of the Lord God; for when I was at John Rouse's, at Kingston, I had a sight of my being taken prisoner; and when I was at Bray Doily's, in Oxfordshire, as I sat at supper, I saw I was taken; and I saw I had a suffering to undergo. But the Lord's power is over all. Blessed be his holy name for ever!"

He and his companion in prison, Thomas Lower, laid their case before several Magistrates; but received no redress. Thomas might have obtained his liberty through the interest of his brother, Dr. Lower, one of the King's Physicians; yet he did not incline to make any use of those letters which he received for that purpose, his attachment to his friend and father-in-law, inducing

him to prefer confinement with him, to liberty without him.

When the quarter sessions came on, they were, on the last day of the sitting, brought into court; and their accusers not being able, and indeed scarcely attempting to substantiate their charge against them, recourse was had to the usual snare of putting the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to George Fox, against whom their enmity principally lay. The oath not being put to Thomas Lower, he obtained his liberty, which he employed in attendance on his father, and in endeavouring to procure his liberation also. For this purpose an habeas corpus was obtained; and George Fox was removed to London, under the care of his son-in-law, Lower, whom the under sheriff had made his deputy. This and many similar circumstances, show the strong sense which was entertained of the innocence of our ancient Friends; and is a presumptive proof, at least, that malice, more than any apprehension of real guilt, influenced the conduct of their persecutors: but persecution is composed of inconsistencies.

George Fox and Thomas Lower left Worcester on the 29th of 11th month, 1673, and reached London on the 2d of 12th month. On the two following days, George appeared in the court of

king's bench; and from the disposition which appeared in the judges, and the ability with which his cause was pleaded by Jones, the king's attorney, and others, hopes were entertained that he might be liberated. But his adversaries afterwards moving the court that he might be returned to Worcester, they prevailed with the judges to comply with their motion. This appears to have been principally effected by the influence of justice Parker, who committed him, and who reported that there were several substantial men with him when he was taken, and that they had a design or plot in hand; for the better effecting of which, Thomas Lower continued in prison after his liberation, long enough to carry on their design. But this report was disproved, and indeed could scarcely be believed, as George Fox, after refusing to give bail, was permitted to travel down to Worcester at his own leisure, only engaging to be there at the assizes, which commenced the 2d of 2d month, 1674. This he punctually fulfilled; and, at the assizes, it appears an attempt was made by his adversaries, not to have him brought up, by omitting his name in the calendar; but by application to the judge's son, he was brought into court, where judge Turner, who had treated him severely at Lancaster, presided. He appeared, however, now more moderate, and had it not been for the violence of justice Parker, it was thought George would have

been liberated. The judge however referred the case back to the quarter sessions; and, in the mean time, through the kindness of other justices, the prisoner was permitted to have the liberty of the town, and to lodge at a friend's house, till the sessions came on. This interval was employed in promoting the cause of truth in various ways, and particularly by disputations with priests of different religious societies. When the time of the sessions arrived, he appeared before the justices; but justice Street, the chairman, who was also a Welch judge, being unfavourably disposed, and influencing the jury, they found the bill against him, which he traversed, and through the moderation of some justices, liberty was given him till the next quarter sessions. After obtaining a copy of his indictment, he travelled towards London, visiting his friends on his way thither. Whilst in the city, some of his kind, but officious, friends, endeavoured again to bring the case into the king's bench; but did not succeed, the business being too far proceeded in at Worcester. George continued in London till after the yearly meeting there, which he attended, and describes it in these emphatic words; "Exceeding glorious the meetings were, beyond expression. Blessed be the Lord!"

The yearly meeting being finished, he soon after returned to Worcester, to be present at the quar-

ter sessions; where justice Street again presided, and tendered the oaths to the prisoner; but George proceeded to show the errors of the indictment, on which he was then to be tried, and clearly pointed out many errors and omissions, which were acknowledged by the judge; yet the jury were induced by him to return their virdict guilty, and he, in an indirect way, passed sentence of premunire upon George Fox. Many of the justices were, however, very moderate and kind; and John Ashley, a lawyer, voluntarily defended his cause; but justice Street, sitting as judge, over-ruled them all. A son of the earl of Salisbury was also very kind, and being much grieved at the injustice of the court, took a copy of the errors of the indictment.

Being now fixed in prison by a premunire, his wife came to him; and, at the succeeding assizes, she and Thomas Lower delivered a state of his case to judge Wild; containing the various circumstances from his commitment to the sentence of premunire; on which the judge observed, that they might try the validity or invalidity of the errors if they would. This hint it appears was afterwards acted upon.

In the mean time, whilst ability was afforded, George employed himself in various acts of usefulness, to the good cause in which he was engaged;

and among others, addressed a brief statement of the principles of the society to the king; not with a view to his own release, but for general benefit. Applications were made by others to the king on his behalf, who was so favourably disposed, as to be willing to grant him a pardon; but a pardon implying guilt in the person pardoned, George's high and just feelings of honour, would not permit him to accept his liberation, in any manner dishonourable to the cause in which he was engaged.

During his confinement at this time, he had a very severe fit of illness, in which he was supported by that Christian fortitude, which peculiarly marked his conduct in all his sufferings. After being restored to better health, and obtaining liberty to walk into the city, his wife went to London, to use means for his release; but as the king could grant nothing but by way of pardon, George chose to have the validity of his indictment tried before the judges; and employed Thomas Corbet of London, for his counsellor. An habeas corpus was accordingly sent to Worcester, by which he was removed to London; and a few days afterwards was brought into the court of king's bench, where, among others, was judge Hale. At the first sitting, Corbet started an objection which greatly puzzled the judges, saying, "they could not imprison any man on a premunire." This point appears to have

been left undecided; and, the next day, the court proceeded to try the errors of the indictment, which, being opened, were so many and so gross, that the judges were unanimously of opinion, it was quashed and void, and that the prisoner ought to have his liberty. After this honourable acquittal, some persons present proposed the oaths being again tendered, telling the judges that he was a dangerous man to be at liberty; but judge Hale told them that he had indeed heard some such reports; but he had also heard many good reports. He therefore, with the other judges, refused this cruel request, and ordered the prisoner to be liberated by proclamation. Counsellor Corbet acquired great credit by his defence of George Fox; and George was liberated in a manner congenial to his feelings, after suffering fourteen months imprisonment for no crime whatever. "The Lord's everlasting power went over all, to his glory and praise."

Being now at liberty, he continued in and near London, till the time of the yearly meeting in 1675; after which he and his wife again travelled towards Swarthmore, having one of her daughters with them. Being now too weak to ride on horseback, they travelled in a coach, visiting Friends as they passed along. At Lancaster, where George had not been since he was there as a prisoner, they attended the quarterly meeting; and he visited

Friends, both in their men's and women's meetings, which were very full, large, and peaceable. On the 5th of 4th month, they reached Swarthmore, where he found it necessary to rest, in order to recruit his weakened constitution, which had suffered much by his late, as well as by former imprisonments.

Whilst at Swarthmore, he was visited by his friends, from various parts of this nation and Scotland. His old persecutor, colonel Kirby, also visited him, and even welcomed him into the country, behaving, in appearance, very lovingly; yet before he left Swarthmore, the colonel manifested something of his former spirit; but did not proceed to any extremities.

George continued nearly two years with his wife, at her habitation; and employed his time in writing many papers and treatises for the promotion of the cause of truth, and in collecting some others heretofore written; besides enjoying the company of his friends, to whom he appears to have been of easy access, and ever ready to impart such advice as their circumstances required. One of the papers which he wrote during this interval, gives an historical account of the progress and sufferings of the society, which he had been instru-

mental in forming. This account it may not be improper to insert. It is entitled,

"A narrative of the spreading of truth, and of the opposition from the powers which then were, written by George Fox, in the year 1676."

"The truth sprang up first to us, so as to be a people to the Lord, in Leicestershire in 1644, in Warwickshire in 1645, in Nottinghamshire in 1646, in Derbyshire in 1647, and in the adjacent counties in 1648, 1649, and 1650: in Yorkshire in 1651, in Lancashire and Westmoreland in 1652, in Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland in 1653, in London and most of the other parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland in 1654."

"In 1655 many went beyond sea, where truth also sprang up, and in 1656 it broke forth in America and many other places."

"In the authority of this divine truth, Friends stood all the cruelties and sufferings that were inflicted upon them, by the long parliament; to the spoiling of goods, imprisonment, and death, and over all reproaches, lies, and slanders; as well as those in Oliver Cromwell's time, and all the acts made by him and his parliament; his son Richard after him, and the committee of safety; and after

withstood and out-lasted all the acts and proclamations since 1660, that the king came in."

"Friends never feared their acts, prisons, gaols, houses of correction, banishment, nor spoiling of goods, nay, nor the loss of life itself: nor was there ever any persecution that came, but we saw, in the event, it would be productive of good; nor were there ever any prisons that I was in, or sufferings, but it was for the bringing multitudes out of prison; though they who imprisoned the truth, and quenched the Spirit in themselves, would imprison and quench it without them; so that there was a time when such numbers were in prison, that it became as a bye-word, 'truth is scarce any where to be found but in gaols."

"And after the King came in, divers Friends suffered much, because they would not drink his health, and say, "God bless the king;" so that many Friends were in danger of their lives from rude persons, who were ready to run them through with their swords for refusing it, until the king gave forth a proclamation against drinking healths; for we were and are against drinking any healths, and all excess, both before his coming in and after; and we desire the king's good, and that the blessing of God might come upon him and all his subjects, and all people upon the face of the earth; but we

did desire people not to drink the king's health, but let him have his health, and all people else; and to drink for their own health and necessity only: for that way of drinking healths, and to excess, was not for the king's health, nor their own, nor any others: which excess often brought forth quarrelling and destroying one another: for they destroyed the creation and one another; and this was not for the king's wealth, nor health, nor honour, but might grieve him to have the creatures and his subjects destroyed; and so the Lord's power gave us dominion over that also, and all our other sufferings."

"But, oh! the number of sufferers in the commonwealth's and Oliver Cromwell's days, and since; especially those who were haled before the courts for not paying tithes, refusing to swear on their juries, not putting off their hats, and for going to meetings on the First Days; under pretence of breaking the sabbath; and to meetings on other days of the week; who were abused both in meetings and on the highways."

"Oh! how great were the sufferings we then sustained upon these accounts; for sometimes they would drive Friends by droves into the prison-houses like penfolds, confine them on the First Days, and take their horses from them, and keep

them for pretended breach of their sabbath; though they would ride in their coaches, and upon their fat horses to the steeple-houses themselves, and yet punish others. And many Friends were turned out of their copyholds and customary tenements, because, in obedience to the command of Christ and his apostle, they could not swear; and as they went to meetings, they have been stoned through the streets, and otherwise cruelly abused. Many were fined with great fines, and lay long in prison for not putting off their hats; which fines Friends could never pay, though they kept them in prison till they had satisfied their own wills; and at last turned them out, after keeping them a year or more in prison."

"Many books I gave forth against tithes, showing how the priesthood was changed that took them; and that Christ sent forth his twelve, and afterwards his seventy disciples, saying unto them, "Freely ye have received, freely give." So all who do not obey the doctrine and command of Christ therein, we cannot receive them."

"I was also moved to give forth several books against swearing, and that our yea and nay might be taken instead of an oath, which if we broke, let us suffer the same punishment as they who broke their oaths. And in Jamaica the governor and the

assembly granted the thing; it is also granted in some other places; and several of the Parliament men in England have acknowledged the reasonableness thereof. The Magistrates, after some time, when they saw our faithfulness in yea and nay, they who were moderate, both before and since the King came in, would put Friends into offices without an oath; but the cruel and envious would fine Friends to get money of them, though they could not pay them any."

"Thus the Lord's power hath carried us through all, and over all, to his everlasting glory and praise; for God's power hath been our hedge, our wall and our keeper, (the preserver of his plants and vineyard,) who have not had the magistrate's sword and staff to help us, nor ever trusted in the arm of flesh; but have gone without these, or Judas's bag, to preach the word of life, which was in the beginning before they were; which word reconciles to God. And thousands have received this word of reconciliation, and are born again of the immortal seed, by the Word of God; and are feeding upon the milk of the Word, which lives and abides for ever."

"Many have suffered death for their testimony, in England and beyond the seas, both before and since the King came in; which may be seen in an account given to the King and both Houses of Par-

liament; being a brief, plain, and true relation, of the late and sad sufferings of the people of God, in scorn called Quakers, for worshipping, and exercising a good conscience towards God and man."

"By reason whereof eighty-nine have suffered till death; thirty-two of which died before the King came into England, and fifty-seven since, by hard imprisonment and cruel usage. Forty-three have died in the city of London and Southwark, since the Act made against meetings, &c. about 1661, of which a more particular account was given, with the names of the sufferers, to the King and Parliament about 1663."

"And though divers laws were designed against us, yet never could any of them justly touch us, being wrested and misapplied in their execution by our adversaries, which some have been made to confess. All those laws that were made, and the oath which they imprisoned us for, because, in obedience to the command of Christ Jesus, we could not swear at all, were not originally intended against us; and yet we suffered by the several powers, and their laws, both spoiling of goods and imprisonment, even to death. And the Governor of Dover Castle, when the King asked him if he had dispersed all the sectaries' meetings, said, that he had; but the Quakers, the devil himself could

not; for if he did imprison them, and break up their meetings, they would meet again; and if he should beat them or knock them down, or kill some of them, all was one, they would meet, and not resist again. Thus the Lord's power did support and keep them over their persecutors, and made them to justify our patience and lamb like nature. This was about 1671."

"Since the King came in, three Acts have been made against us, besides the Proclamations, by which many have suffered imprisonment and banishment, and many to death. And yet for all these acts and proclamations, persecutions, sufferings, banishments, faithful Friends are as fresh as ever in the Lord's power, and valiant for his name and truth."

"Some weak ones there were, when the King came in, who did take the oath; but after they had so done, they were sore troubled for disobeying the command of Christ and the apostle; and went to the Magistrates, condemned themselves, and offered to go to prison."

"Thus the Lord, in his everlasting power, hath been the support and stay of his people; and still his seed reigns, his truth is over all, and exceedingly spreads unto this year 1676."

CHAPTER XIX.

1677, 1678.—Leaves Swarthmore.—Travels into Yorkshire, and thence to London.—Accompanies William Penn to his house at Worminghurst.—Returns to London, and sails with several Friends to Holland.—At Amsterdam writes to the princess Elizabeth of the Rhine. Her answer.—Visits many places in Holland and Germany.—Returns to England.—Lands at Harwich, and goes to London.—Thence into Bucks and Bristol. —Labours much and successfully with those who oppose the discipline.—Returns to London.

HAVING finished the services described at the latter end of the preceding chapter, and being in some degree recruited in his health, George Fox left Swarthmore, the 26th of 1st month, 1677, and travelled with some difficulty, through Westmoreland, the dales of Yorkshire, and other places in that county, till he came to York; where he continued a few days, being at the meeting on First Day, which was a very large and favourable opportunity. Many Friends met him there from other parts of the county, with whom, as well as with those in the city, he held meetings on the following day, at the house of John Taylor.

After finishing his services in York, and writing an affectionate letter to his wife, he travelled southward by Tadcaster, Knottingley, Doncaster,

&c. into Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Leicestershire. At Leicester he found many Friends who were come out of the country to attend a horse fair, with whom he had a very good meeting the evening before the fair; and another the next evening at Knighton, about a mile distant. Thus did this indefatigable gospel labourer embrace almost every opportunity, at which a number of people were collected, for promoting the good cause in which he was engaged.

From Leicester he travelled through the intermediate counties, till he came to London. Previously to his entering the city, he spent a few days at the widow Haly's at Hendon, and at William Mead's at Highgate. By the latter he was taken to London, and being fourth day, they attended the week-day meeting at Gracechurch street, where his Friends were much pleased to see him; and they were greatly refreshed together, under a sense of the divine presence and power which accompanied their meeting.

It was with considerable difficulty that George bore his journey to London, his sufferings, in prison and otherwise, having left his body so weak, that he could not travel far on a day; and in the nights he could take but little rest, on account of

the great pains to which he was subject; but he gratefully observes, that the Lord's power was over all, and carried him through all, to his praise.

Finding, in his journey to London, that some unfaithfulness had crept into the society, with respect to its testimony against tithes, occasioned principally by those who had opposed the establishment of christian discipline, George was concerned to write an epistle to his friends, to stir up those who were unfaithful, and to encourage and strengthen others in supporting their christian testimony in this respect.

Soon after his reaching London, the yearly meeting commenced, "wherein," to use his own words, "the Lord's powerful presence was very largely felt, and the affairs of truth were sweetly carried on, in the unity of the spirit, to the satisfaction and comfort of the upright-hearted. Blessed be the Lord for ever."

Soon after the yearly meeting, George Fox accompanied his friend William Penn to his house at Worminghurst, in Sussex, where he spent about three weeks, employing part of his time there in replying to an adversary's book, in conjunction with John Burnyeat. Returning to London, he, after a short stay there, set off for Harwich, to

embark for Holland, having felt his mind drawn to visit Friends there and in Germany, and to preach the gospel to the people. Some other Friends were also at that time under a similar concern; and William Penn, Robert Barclay, George Keith and his wife, John Furly and his brother, William Tailcoat, George Watts, and Isabel Yeomans, one of Margaret Fox's daughters, all took passage in the same vessel. They sailed from Harwich on the 25th of Fifth Month, 1677, and were landed at the Briel on the morning of the 28th, where they met with a joyful reception from their Friends; and soon afterwards took boat for Rotterdam.

George Fox and the other Friends attended the meetings at Rotterdam on First-day, which were held at the house of Benjamin Furly; and, after spending two or three days here, he and William Penn parted from the rest, and passing by Overkirk, Delft, Leyden, and Harlem, came to Amsterdam. At Harlem they appointed a meeting, which was numerously attended, and proved satisfactory both to Friends and others who were present. Whilst at Amsterdam they were at the quarterly meeting there, which was attended by Friends from Rotterdam and Harlem. Here also the other Friends, whom they left at Rotterdam, met them. It appears that Friends had not yet procured meeting-houses; for the meeting was held at the house of

Gertrude Dirick Nieson. It was a large and serviceable meeting, in which the benefit of meetings for discipline was explained; and, at a subsequent meeting, monthly and quarterly meetings were established; also a yearly meeting for Friends in Holland and Germany, to be held at Amsterdam, which was very satisfactory to Friends in those parts. In this city they had several other meetings, both public and private; and particularly a very large one, on a First-day, which was attended by a great variety of religious professors. In this meeting, Robert Barclay, George Keith, and William Penn, as well as George Fox, were engaged in public testimony, and "the meeting ended quietly and well."

George's companions left him at Amsterdam, where he continued a few days, during which time he wrote an epistle to the princess Elizabeth of the Rhine, maternal aunt to George the First, who governed a small territory, and was a very religious and virtuous character; as may appear from the following short answer to George's letter.

"DEAR FRIEND!

"I cannot but have a tender love to those that love the Lord Jesus Christ; to whom it is given not only to believe in him, but also to suffer

for him: therefore your letter and your friends' visit, have been both very welcome to me. I shall follow their and your counsel, as far as God will afford me light and unction; remaining still,

"Your loving Friend,

ELIZABETH."

Hertfort, the 30th of August, 1677.

Being clear of Amsterdam, he travelled towards Friesland, accompanied by John Claus, who was his interpreter. In their way they had meetings at Alcmaer among Friends, and people of other professions, which were held peaceably and to satisfaction. From this place they passed to Hoorn and Enchkhuysen, where they took ship for Friesland, and landed at Worcum, whence they proceeded to Harlingen, tarrying there several days, visiting Friends, and attended meetings on a First-day; which were held without any interruption. Some religious people afterwards came to converse with George Fox, who seemed well satisfied; and they parted in love towards each other. From Harlingen they went to Lewarden, and lodged at the house of a Friend, named Sybrand Bowes. Here they tarried only one night, and proceeded by Dockum, Groningen, and Delfziel, to Embden. At this place, Friends had suffered much persecution, and were often

banished from it. It does not appear that George Fox had any meeting here, except a small one with Friends, whilst waiting for a wagon, of which they were disappointed; the owner being afraid of having his horses taken from him. They therefore took boat to Leer, where they visited a Friend who was banished from Embden. Passing through Strickhausen, Deteren, and Oldenburgh, they came to Delmenhurst. Here, after being examined by the guards, they went to the house of a burgomaster to lodge, who, it seems, kept an inn. There, finding many people collected, George embraced the opportunity of preaching to them, and warning them of the day of the Lord that would come upon all evil doers. The next day they went over the river Weser to Bremen, and thence to Fisherholder; where George had some religious service among the people; and then proceeded towards Buxtehude, and thence to Hamburgh.

On the evening of the day on which they arrived at Hamburgh, they held a meeting, which, it appears, was attended by a variety of people, and proved a good opportunity of relief to George's mind. "Yet," he observes, "a hard dark place this is, and the people are much shut up from truth." After encouraging and strengthening the minds of their friends there, they proceeded, early next

morning towards Frederickstadt. In their way they passed through Elmshoorn, Rantzow, Itzeho, and Hoghenhorn, having some religious service at the two last places. After two days travelling, much of it in the rain and in an open wagon, they came to Frederickstadt. Here they had a meeting with Friends the same evening; with which their spirits were much refreshed, finding a considerable number of their own society here; whose company and kindness appears to have been peculiarly grateful, after travelling so long among strangers, who were such both in a natural and religious sense. Here they continued several days, having a public meeting with the inhabitants, and a private one among their Friends only: the principal object of the last, was to establish monthly meetings for discipline in that city; which was readily complied with. Besides these meetings, George Fox had some religious discourse with two Jews, relating to the coming of the Messiah; but he found them very dark and ignorant of the meaning of their own prophets.

The city of Frederickstadt belonged to the duke of Holstein, who had manifested a disposition to banish Friends from it; but the magistrates chose rather to resign their offices than comply with the persecuting disposition of the duke; they themselves having come to that city,

to enjoy liberty of conscience. This was certainly much to their credit, and manifested, (which is too seldom the case,) a proper sense of the right and value of that liberty, which they had sought and obtained.

Being clear of Frederickstadt, George and his companions returned to Hamburgh, where, being joined by John Hill, a Friend from England, they had a very satisfactory meeting; after which, and some religious discourse with different persons, they departed from this city, and travelled through the duke of Lunenburg's dominions, with much difficulty and danger from the flooded state of the country, till they came to Bormer Haven. They arrived at this place about eleven at night; and procuring some clean straw, they rested till four in the morning, and then proceeded to Bremen.

At Bremen they staid a very short time, and travelled by Keby, Oldenburgh, and Leer, to Embden. At Oldenburgh they were affected, as they had been when there before, with observing that the greatest part of the city had been consumed by fire: but their sorrow was increased by the irreligious conduct of the people. They were there on the first day of the week, and observed that the soldiers were drinking and gaming, and that the few shops which remained, were open, and the

people trading with each other. George laboured among the people in the love of the gospel, and they behaved quietly and civilly towards him; but his spirit was much burdened with their wickedness, and the little sensibility manifested under their late affliction. So much was his mind affected with their conduct, that, after his return to Amsterdam, he was concerned to write them an Epistle, to warn them of the consequence of their impiety and wickedness.

In the course of this journey, George Fox embraced opportunities which occurred for religious service, in many of the places through which he passed, which he himself describes in this manner: "Many times in mornings, and at noons and nights; at the inns and on the ways, as I travelled, I spake to the people, preaching the truth to them, warning them of the day of the Lord, and exhorting them to turn to the light and Spirit of God in themselves, that thereby they might be led out of evil."

From Oldenburgh, he and his companions proceeded by Leer to Embden, where they staid but one night; having a good meeting there in the evening. Here they took shipping for Delfziel, where they found a Friend, a goldsmith of Embden, who had been repeatedly banished from that

city, on account of his religious principles; besides undergoing various other sufferings, which the persecuting magistrates had inflicted upon him. This Friend they comforted and encouraged, exhorting him also to faithfulness, in the support of the testimony committed to him. Departing from this place to Groningen, they met with another Friend, Cornelius Andries, who was also banished from Embden. At his house they lodged, and had a good meeting; after which they passed by Strobus and Dockum to Lewarden, where George found his daughter Yeomans, who was come from Amsterdam to meet him. Here they had a precious meeting, and some other religious service. The next day, John Hill having left them, they went by several lakes to Gardick; where they attended a meeting of Friends on First-day, to which many people of other religious societies also came. After this meeting, and another religious opportunity among the people, they returned to Lewarden; whence they proceeded by Franeker to Harlingen; where they met with several Dutch Friends, who were intending to hold their monthly meeting there the next day. Here also came William Penn from Amsterdam. The meeting was large and satisfactory; and appears to have been the first of the kind, as the holding of such a meeting, both by men and women Friends, was then agreed to.

The service of the meeting for discipline being finished, a public meeting was held in the afternoon of the same day. This meeting was attended by persons of various religious denominations; and when George had finished preaching, an ancient grave man, who was a priest, stood up and said: "I pray God to prosper and confirm that doctrine, for it is truth, and I have nothing against it." In the evening George had another meeting, with Friends; and the next day he and his companions took boat for Amsterdam, where they arrived so late that the gates were shut, and they were obliged to continue all night in the boat. Similar circumstances frequently occurred in this journey, and subjected the travellers to considerable inconvenience and hardship.

Having next day obtained entrance into Amsterdam, he continued there many days; during which time he was under great exercise, on account of some divisions which had taken place among Friends in England; and he wrote two epistles to them on the subject. He also wrote one to Friends at Dantzick, who were then suffering under great persecution; besides several other papers and epistles on account of the society, and some of a more public nature. He also attended several meetings whilst at Amsterdam, and one day went to Landsmeer, in Waterland, where he had a very good

meeting. This town is remarkable for having above one hundred bridges in it, generally, we may suppose rather small. He also made an excursion with divers friends to Harlem, where they had a very satisfactory meeting. A priest particularly expressed his desire, that the blessing of God might rest on them and their assemblies; and others said, they had never heard things so plainly opened to their understandings before. Whilst George Fox was at Amsterdam, George Keith and William Penn came there, after their visit to Germany; and entered into a public disputation with Galenus Abrahams, a very noted Baptist in Holland. This dispute not being finished in one day, was adjourned to another a few days distant, when it terminated to the satisfaction of Friends. In the intermediate time, a public meeting was held at Friends' meeting place; to which many hundreds of people of all ranks came, who behaved very agreeably; but some opposition was afterwards made, which gave an opportunity for explanation, by which the objections which had been brought forward were removed; and the people were not only well satisfied, but went away much affected with the religious communications, which they had that day heard.

George Fox having now finished his services at Amsterdam, took leave of his friends there; and,

accompanied by William Penn and George Keith, went to Leyden, where they staid a day or two, seeking out and visiting some serious tender people in that city. From Leyden they passed to the Hague, where they visited a judge, who appears to have been a religiously disposed, as well as a wise man. With him they had much conversation, in which he advanced many objections to their principles, and put several questions to them, which were satisfactorily replied to; and they departed in much mutual love. Leaving the Hague, they went by Delft to Rotterdam, where they spent some days, during which time George Fox published an address to the Jews, and revised some other books and papers which he had written. After this and some other religious service, he, with the other Friends, and their kind hostess at Amsterdam, Gertrude Dirick Nieson, and her children, went to the Briel; and sailed on the twenty-first of Eighth Month, 1677, for England. They arrived at Harwich in the night of the twenty-third, having had a tedious and dangerous passage, in a leaky vessel. There were about sixty passengers, among whom the Friends had some good religious service. From Harwich George Fox proceeded by Colchester, Halsted, Braintree, Felsted, Saling, and Chelmsford, to London, where he was joyfully received by his friends; and on the First-day following they

had a refreshing meeting together, for which he feelingly praised the Lord.

Finding various occasions for his services in London, he continued there four or five weeks, interesting himself on account of his suffering Friends, particularly those in New England; of whom he had received very distressing accounts. He also wrote an excellent letter to the king of Poland, occasioned, it seems, by the sufferings of Friends at Dantzick. Besides his own arguments against persecution, it contains many expressions of kings and others on the same subject. This letter was received and read by the king, and it is difficult to suppose, that it could fail of producing a good effect on his mind.

After finishing his present services in London, he travelled into Buckinghamshire, having meetings at Amersham, Hungerhill, Jordans, Hedgely, Wycomb, and Turvil-heath. In this county he met with much opposition from the Separates, particularly at a men's meeting, which was held at Thomas Ellwood's, who lived at Hungerhill. Here they endeavoured to hinder Friends from proceeding with the business of the meeting. This, however, George Fox prevented, by proposing a meeting being held, for the purpose of hearing and answering their objections. A meeting was accordingly

appointed to be held, in the following week, at Thomas Ellwood's. It was largely attended, and the opposers had opportunity given to state their objections, in which they manifested a particular enmity to George Fox; but he not only repelled their accusations, but answered their objections in such a manner, that the opposers greatly lost ground; and many who were weak and wavering, were restored to more full unity with their Friends, and satisfied with the religious care exercised among them. Faithful Friends were also united and refreshed together; and the cause of truth was much promoted by this, and a similar meeting held at Wycomb during the same week.

After completing his services in Bucks, George travelled into Oxon, Berks, and Wilts, visiting his Friends, and having meetings amongst them. At Reading he again met with some opposition, in the settling of a womens' meeting; but the opposers were obliged to give way to "the weight of truth," with which they had to contend; and the meeting appears to have been established.

From Wiltshire, George went to Bristol, where he arrived the 24th of Eleventh Month; just before the fair. This was a time of great concourse, and many Friends attended it on business; while others came there in the service of truth. "Many sweet

and precious meetings" they had together; and great love and unity prevailed among those who stood faithful, against that spirit of opposition, which had manifested itself in many places, and particularly at Bristol. George Fox was personally the but of the opponents, who manifested much inveteracy against him; but he bore this, as he had done other sufferings, with heavenly patience; being more desirous to surmount opposition by a righteous and exemplary life, than verbally to plead his own cause, though firm in maintaining what he considered to be the cause of truth. By this conduct, the love of faithful Friends towards him was increased; and some who had been misled by his adversaries, seeing their envy and rude behaviour, returned to the unity of their Friends; and were thankful for the deliverance from the snare, in which they were in danger of being caught.

After he had finished his services in Bristol, he travelled through the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Warwick, Oxford, Buckingham, Hertford, and Bedford, to London; where he arrived the 8th of Third Month, 1678. In this journey he meetings with Friends at many places. At Worcester, where a few years before he had suffered a cruel imprisonment, he staid several days, and had much religious service among his Friends. At Ragley, in Warwickshire, he visited lady Conway,

who, he understood, was desirous to see him; and she received him with great kindness and tenderness.* In this neghbourhood he was visited by William Dewsbury, who was then a prisoner at Warwick; but it seems had liberty, at times, to visit his friends. They spent half a day together, no doubt to their mutual satisfaction. On the day of George's arrival in London, he went to the week-day meeting at Gracechurch Street, where he says, "many Friends not knowing I was come to town, were very joyful to see me there; and the Lord was present with us, refreshing us with his living virtue; blessed be his holy name!"

* A particular account of this extraordinary woman, may be found in the Life of Doctor Henry More.

CHAPTER XX.

1678 to 1684—His services in London.—Goes by Herts, Warwickshire, &c. to Swarthmore.—Continues there above a year.—Writes an Epistle to the Yearly Meeting in London. Leaves Swarthmore, and goes by Yorkshire, &c. to London. Attends the Yearly Meeting there.—At Kingston writes to the Great Turk, and to the King of Algiers.—Visits Friends in Surrey and Sussex.—Returns to London.—In a Suit for Tithes, the Judges are surprized at his liberal conduct to his Wife and her children.—Makes excursions to the country, returning to London.—Again visits Holland, and returns to England.

WHEN George Fox arrived in London, the Parliament was sitting; and he united with other Friends, in applying for relief for those who were suffering under laws made against popish recusants. In about two weeks, the yearly meeting came on. This meeting appears to have been very comfortable and refreshing to Friends, who were nearly united to each other in gospel love and fellowship; and no spirit of opposition manifested itself amongst them. They had also comfortable accounts from Friends in different parts of Europe and America; of all which he gives a particular account in a letter to his wife, written soon after this yearly meeting.

But though the yearly meeting was thus satis-

factory, George suffered much in his spirit, on account of a prevailing disposition, in many, to depart from the simplicity and purity of their profession, and particularly to oppose the excellent discipline established in the society; for whose sake he published a paper "for undeceiving the deceived, and opening the understandings of the weak in this matter." It contains many sound observations and arguments, and had probably a good effect; though many of those who were settled in their opposition, did not profit by it.

During his residence in London at this time, the parliament sat again; and he was again engaged in endeavouring to procure redress for his suffering Friends, to which many of the members were much inclined; but other engagements prevented any thing being done at that time.

Having finished his services in the city, for the present, he went to Hertford, where he spent several days, and had much religious service of various kinds. From Hertford he went by Rabley Heath, Stevenage, Baldock, Hitchin, and Ashwell, into Bedfordshire, having meetings at all those places. In Bedfordshire he had many meetings, and much service in the cause of his Master; and then passed into Huntingdonshire. At Ives, in this county, he was met by his friend George

Whitehead; and they travelled together into Northamptonshire and Leicestershire. They parted at Great Bowden; and George Fox continued in this county, having meetings at Saddington, Wigston, Knighton, Leicester, Sileby, and Swanington. In these places he found a great disposition to receive his ministry, and was led to open "many weighty and excellent truths" to the people. While he was at Leicester, he visited his friends who were in prison for their religious testimonies; encouraging them to faithfulness and patience under their sufferings. He also endeavoured to interest the jailer in their favour, advising him to treat them with kindness and all reasonable indulgence.

From Warwickshire he went into Staffordshire; where he had many open meetings, tending to gather those to whom he ministered, into a feeling of gospel truth, and to establish others therein. After spending some time in this county, he went into Derbyshire, where he visited his friend John Gratton, at his own house at Monyash; from which place he went into Yorkshire; and, after spending about two weeks in that county, he travelled into Lancashire and Westmoreland, having a precious meeting at Arnside, in the latter county. From this place he went to Swarthmore; where, at their meeting the next day, he "had a sweet opportunity with Friends, their hearts being opened

in the love of God, and his blessed life flowing amongst them."

In the course of his late journey, he had written and published several papers and epistles; and now, settling down at Swarthmore for a considerable time, he employed himself much in writing epistles to his friends, on various occasions; in which he manifested his fatherly care for them; stirring them up to love and good works, and to an upright zeal for the promotion of truth and righteousness upon the earth. The following extracts from an epistle to the yearly meeting in 1679, will show the excellent spirit which continued to prevail, in this devoted servant of Jesus Christ: "The world expects more from Friends than from other people, because you profess more. Therefore you should be more just than others in your words and dealings; more righteous, holy, and pure in your lives and conversations; so that your lives and conversations may preach. And, dear Friends, strive to excel one another in virtue, that ye may grow in love, that excellent way, which unites all to Christ and God. Stand up for God's glory, and mind that which concerns the Lord's honour, that, in no wise, his power may be abused, nor his name evil spoken of by any evil talkers or walkers; but that, in all things, God may be honoured, and ye may glorify him in your bodies,

souls and spirits, the little time ye have to live." This instructive epistle he concludes with these words: "my life and love is to you all, and among you all. The Lord God Almighty, by his mighty power, by which he has preserved his people unto this day, preserve and keep you all in his power, and peaceable holy truth, in unity and fellowship one with another, and with the Son and Father. Amen."

Having continued above a year at Swarthmore, he again found his mind drawn to travel southward; and leaving his family and friends here in the First Month, 1679-80, he passed through some parts of Westmoreland and Lancashire, into Yorkshire; and came to the city of York at the time of the assizes, during which the quarterly meeting was also held. Here he interested himself and others in the cause of their suffering friends, now in prison here, whose case was laid before the judges. He also personally visited his friends in prison, and encouraged them in their trying situation. The quarterly meeting too afforded him an opportunity of strengthening his friends, in the support of the good cause which they had espoused, and of opening to them such gospel truths, as might tend to build them up on their most holy faith, and to preserve them in their right places in the church of Christ. After spending several days in York, he went

through parts of the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, Warwick, and several others, to London; where he was, as usual, cordially received by his friends. The yearly meeting being in the following week, he attended it with many Friends from different parts of the nation. Of this meeting he says, "a blessed opportunity the Lord gave us together, wherein the ancient love was sweetly felt, and the heavenly life flowed abundantly over all."

Whilst he was in London, he exerted himself, as at other times, for the relief of his suffering brethren, both in this and other nations. He also wrote letters to his friends in different parts of the world; and soon after he left London, whilst at Kingston, he wrote to "the great Turk, and to the king of Algiers," warning them and the people under them, to turn from their wickedness and to fear the Lord. With the Algerines he particularly remonstrated on the cruelty, which they exercised towards their captives, among whom were some Friends.*

* It may not be improper here to give the following account of the Friends, who were prisoners at Algiers, as related by Sewell. "Now concerning those Quakers at Algiers, of whom mention hath been made that they were slaves there, it was a pretty long time before opportunity was found to redeem them; but in the meanwhile, they so faithfully served their masters, that they were suffered to go loose through the town, without

He next visited his friends in Surrey and Sussex, and returned again to London. After continuing there about ten days, he visited several meetings in that neighbourhood, as far as Hertford. At this place he met with John Story, one of those who had been a principal opposer of the discipline, and in other respects deviated from the practices of the society. Though several of his party were there, yet they did not give any disturbance to the meetings held by George Fox; who had good service, in explaining the benefit of mens' and womens' meetings, one of which he attended here. He had also a conference with the disaffected, amongst whom he laboured, endeavouring to show them the errors into which they were fallen. In the course of this journey, he mentions having visited two Friends' schools, one at Edmonton, kept by Chris-

being chained or fettered; and liberty was also allowed them to meet at set times, for religious worship; and their patrons themselves would sometimes come and see what they did there; and finding no images or prints, as papist slaves in the exercise of their worship made use of; but hearing from their slaves that they reverently adored and worshipped the living God, Creator of heaven and earth, they commended them for it; and said it was very good, and that they might freely do so. And since one of them was raised to speak by way of edification to his Friends, some other English slaves frequenting that meeting, came to be united with them. In the meanwhile, the name Quakers came to be known at Algiers, as a people that might be trusted beyond others." See Sewel's History of the Quakers, page 96, octavo edition, 1795.

topher Taylor, and the other a girl's school at Shacklewell. Of these schools it appears he had been a great promoter, and he now seems to have felt an interest in their right support.

Returning to London, he continued there during the winter, labuoring various ways for the benefit of the society, and the promotion of the cause of truth. Here, and in the neighbourhood he remained till the yearly meeting of 1681, of which he says; "It was a very precious meeting, in which the glorious presence and power of the Lord was eminently felt and enjoyed."

About this time George, and his wife who was now with him in London, were under a prosecution for tithes on the Swarthmore estate. The legality of the demand, as well as their conscientious principles, were involved in the question; and many endeavours were used to prevent the success of the claimant, particularly by personal applications to the judges; but a sequestration was granted by the court of exchequer, accompanied, however, by a limitation which prevented the plaintiff from taking more than was proved; by which he was much disappointed. In the course of this business, the judges were much surprised to find, that George Fox had legally bound himself from meddling with his wife's estate; an instance of disinterestedness,

to which they found it difficult to give credit, till the deeds were shown to them.

He abode in London about a month after the yearly meeting, and then visited Friends in Sussex, among whom he had many large and precious meetings. He did not continue long in this county, but soon returned to London. After tarrying awhile there, he visited his friends in some parts of Bucks, Berks, and Oxon, again returning to London; which city and its neighbourhood, from this time, became his principal residence, during the remaining part of his life. He however sometimes visited his friends in the neighbouring counties; and in the year 1684 he paid a second visit to Friends and others in Holland.

In this journey, he was accompanied from London by Alexander Parker, George Watts, and Nathaniel Brassey, who were also under a religious engagement to visit Friends in those parts. They left that city on the thirty-first of Third Month; and the same day they reached Colchester in a coach, where they attended the meeting on the day following; being the first of the week. The report of George Fox being there had spread much, both in Colchester and its neighbourhood, which occasioned a very large meeting; so that apprehensions were entertained lest the magistrates should

be alarmed and endeavour to break it up; but no attempt of this kind was made; and a very satisfactory meeting it proved. "Truly," he observes, "the Lord's power and presence were beyond words, for I was but weak, and my face by reason of a cold was sore; but God manifested his strength in us and with us, and all was well. The Lord have the glory for evermore for his supporting power."

Having spent two days more in Colchester receiving and visiting his friends, he and his companions left that town; and on their arrival at Harwich, met with William Bingley and Samuel Waldenfield. From this place they sailed for Holland, and landed at the Briel, after a fine passage of about sixteen hours. From the Briel they proceeded to Rotterdam, where they attended the meeting on First-day; and, whilst here, had some religious conferences with persons of note in the place. The next day they went to Amsterdam, where they attended the meetings of their Friends. The yearly meeting established here for the society in Holland and Germany, was at this time held. This afforded a good opportunity of seeing their friends in these countries; and a refreshing time they had together, in the love of God. Here the strangers from England separated, according to their several concerns; George Fox, with Alexander Parker and George Watts, remaining a few days at Amster-

dam. Among other religious engagements, they visited Galenus Abrahams, whom George had seen when in that country before. He was an eminent preacher among the Menonists or Baptists, and had formerly manifested a dislike to George Fox, with a degree of fear, bidding him to keep his eyes from him, because they pierced him; but this disposition seems to have been removed, and he was now very loving, and in some degree confessed to the truth of what was said to him. His wife and daughter were also kind, and they parted in much love.

From Amsterdam, George and his companions, to whom John Claus was added as an interpreter, departed for Friesland, in which country they travelled about a week, visiting Friends and others; and mostly holding one or two meetings daily. They went as far as Harlingen, in West Friesland; from which place they returned by sea to Amsterdam; where, on the following First-day, they attended the meeting, "which was very large and precious." Many persons of all ranks were there, and were very attentive to the gospel truths delivered amongst them. After spending about two weeks here, and making excursions into the country, particularly to Osanoverton, Landsmeer, Sardam, and Alkmaer, they took an affectionate leave of their friends in Amsterdam, and went to Harlem; where they had a very satisfactory meeting

at the house of Abraham Frondenberg, a Friend of that place. The next day they departed for Rotterdam, where they had two meetings; and on the fifteenth of Fifth Month went to the Briel, where they took shipping for England. After a tedious voyage, they arrived safe at Harwich; from which place they went by Colchester, Witham and Harestreet, towards London; but George being much enfeebled by travelling and other exercises, staid at his son-in-law, William Mead's, at Gooses, near Harestreet, and rested there several weeks; so that it was not till the latter end of summer, that he reached London.

After this journey, he ceased from much travelling, his principal residence continuing in London and its neighbourhood. But though his body was thus circumscribed, his enlarged mind was still active; and he employed his time in writing many papers and epistles to Friends and others in distant parts; in attending to the sufferings of his persecuted brethren, and in visiting the sick; besides being engaged in his public gospel labours in religious meetings.

CHAPTER XXI.

1685 to 1690—Writes an epistle to Friends on account of commotions in the nation—Account of his gift of land and meeting-house at Swarthmore—Resides principally about London—An epistle to the yearly meeting at York—Increasing infirmities—His death and burial.

DURING the latter part of the reign of Charles the Second, the nation was much agitated with popular disaffection; on which account George Fox became exercised for his friends, lest they should be drawn into the spirit of contending parties, and neglect an attention to their own religious duties. On this account he was concerned to write them an epistle, "to caution all to keep out of the spirit of the world, in which trouble is, and to dwell in the peaceable truth." From this epistle it may not be improper to give the following extract:

"Dear Friends and Brethren, whatever bustlings and trouble, tumults or outrages, quarrels or strife, arise in the world, keep out of them all. Concern not yourselves with them; but keep in the Lord's power and peaceable truth, that is over all such things; in which power ye seek the peace and good of all men. Live in the love which God hath shed abroad in your hearts, through Christ Jesus; in

which love nothing is able to separate you from God and Christ; neither outward sufferings, persecutions, nor any thing that is below and without; nor to hinder or break your heavenly fellowship in the light, gospel, and Spirit of Christ; nor your holy communion in the Holy Ghost, that proceeds from the Father and the Son, which leads into all truth."

This epistle is dated at London, the eleventh of Fourth Month, 1685; and in the year 1688, about the time of the revolution, he wrote another of a similar tendency. Thus did this faithful overseer watch over and encourage the flock, being on all occasions ready, both by word and deed, to minister to their wants; to extricate them from their difficulties: to guard them against all snares; and to warn them of the approach of that enemy, which goes about, either as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour, or as a cunning serpent endeavouring to deceive and to betray. In such services as these did he employ the remainder of his days, adding to them acts of liberality both of a private and public nature. Of this trait of his conduct it may be proper to relate some circumstances, respecting a meeting-house at Swarthmore; which was provided at his expense, and with the ground on which it stood, and some other adjoining, was given by him to the society. It will doubtless be most ac-

ceptable and interesting to the reader, to be presented with some copious extracts from the papers which he wrote on this occasion; as they tend to exhibit his character in various points of view, in a very striking manner.

"George Fox's declared intention and motion for his giving up Petty's house and land for ever, for the service of the Lord and the people called Quakers."

"The eternal God, who hath in and by his eternal powerful arm, preserved me through all my troubles, trials, temptations and afflictions; persecutions, reproaches and imprisonments; and carried me over them all, hath sanctified all these things to me, so that I can say, all things work together for good to them that love God, and are beloved of him."

"And the Lord God of the whole heaven and earth, and all things therein, both natural and spiritual, he hath been, by his eternal arm and power, my preserver and upholder, and keeper, and hath taken care and provided for me, both for temporals and spirituals, so that I never did want; and have been content and thankful with what the Lord did provide for me."

"And now the Lord hath done so much good to me, and to his name, truth, and people, to whom I have offered up my spirit, soul, and body, which are the Lord's, made and created for his glory. And also I do offer and give up freely to the Lord for ever, and for the service of his sons, daughters, and servants, called Quakers, the house and houses, barn, kiln, stable, and all the land, with the garden and orchard, being about three acres of land, more or less; with the commonings, peats, turfings, moss, and whatsoever other privileges that belong to it, called Swarthmoor, in the parish of Ulverstone."

"And also my ebony bedstead, with the painted curtains, and the great elbow chair that Robert Widders sent me; and my great sea case or cellaridge, with the bottles in it. These do I give to stand in the house as heirlooms, when the house is made use of for a meeting place; so that a Friend may have a bed to lie on, and a chair to sit in, and a bottle to hold a little water to drink."

"It being free land, and free from all tithe, both great and small; and all this I do freely give up to the Lord, and for the Lord's service and his people's, to make it a meeting place of."

"It is all the land and house I have in England,

and it is given up to the Lord; for it is for his service, and for his children's."

GEORGE FOX.

"I do and have given up Petty's, which I bought of the children Susanna Fell and Rachel Fell for seventy-two pounds; for God's people to meet in, when they do not meet at Swarthmoor Hall; and let the rest of the ground and malt house maintain the meeting house, which may be made fit, either the barn or the house, as the Lord shall let Friends see which is best; and to slate it, and pave the way to it, that so Friends may go dry to their meeting. And let or set part of the house and land to maintain itself forever for the Lord's service, and you may let any poor honest Friend live in part of the house. And so let it be for the Lord's service to the end of the world; and for his people to meet in, to keep them from the winter-cold, and the wet, and the summer-heat."

The foregoing extracts are from papers dated at Kingston-upon-Thames, the 13th of 12th month, and the 22d of 1st month, 1686-7, which appear to have been sent to Thomas Lower, who lived at Marsh Grange, in Lancashire, accompanied with a letter which also enters into many minutiæ, respecting the proposed meeting house; and, I apprehend, the insertion of the principal part of it, will also be acceptable.

"*Gooses, the 28th of 2d Month*, 1687.

"DEAR THOMAS,

"With my love to thee and thy wife, with thy mother, and brother, and sister, at Swarthmoor, and thy children, and the rest of Friends in the holy seed of life, that reigns over all. Dear Thomas, I have sent thee a copy of my mind concerning Petty's, which thou mayst privately show to thy mother, and the list of the names; which you that live in the country, you may know which of these are the fittest to put into the deed of trust. Choose out first four of the most faithful and substantial Friends it this list, or other that you may approve of, to join you four brothers, unto whom the first deed of trust is to be made; and then you eight are to make it over by a deed of uses, to ten or twelve Friends more, which you may consider, who are fit to put into that second deed. So the four names that is to be joined with you, thou must send up, as shortly as thou can, that so the deed may be confirmed as soon as may be."

"This will be a confirmation of what has all along been in thy mother's mind; that the meeting will be continued at Swarthmoor. And as concerning the ten or twelve Friends more, unto which you are to make a deed of uses, the names of them may be considered on afterwards, when this is done. And as concerning the meeting place

itself, whether the barn or the house, I shall leave it to you. But if the barn will do better; if you could make it wider, may be it may be better, because there will be the house to go into, and the ground may be so raised, that you may go up a step or two into the meeting-house; and it will be more wholesome. And the yards are low, which may be raised and laid dry; and you have stones enough, and poor men to get them. And I would have all the thatch pulled off all the houses, and laid in a heap to rot for manure to be laid upon the close; and let all the houses be slated, and the walls about it to be made substantial to stand, and laid in lime and sand."

"And I would have a porch made to the meeting place, of the common side, into the yard; and with rubbish and earth as before, you may raise the yard and the floors. And I would have the meeting place large, for truth may increase. The barn made as wide again, which you may do with pillars, or otherwise, which I leave to thee and the workmen: and I would have thee take Robert Barrow's advice in it. If you think fit to have the kiln continued, you may fit it up, if it be worth the charge of doing. But these things I must leave to you."

"I would have it gone about, and prepare things beforehand as soon as you can; when you have viewed it, and see what you will want; either lime,

sand, wood or stone. And I would have Robert Barrow to do it, if he can. And I would have, next winter, an orchard planted when you see fit; you may get some trees to set in it where thou sees fit; and I would have some trees set about the close, and if thou will set some of thy fir trees there thou may. And when all is done and fitted completely for the Lord's service and his people's, let it stand till there be occasion for it; and I desire thee to be very careful in this thing, and let it be done as soon as may be; for it is not for myself, but for the service of the Lord and his people, and let it be done substantially."

"And as for the affairs of truth, in the general, things are pretty well, and meetings are quiet both in England and beyond the seas. And the Lord keep his people in his fear and in humility, in this time of liberty, that they do not forget him; for there is danger in a time of liberty, as in a time of suffering, for that to get up which will not stand faithful; but my desire is, that all may walk worthy of the Lord's mercies. So no more, with my love to you." "G. F."

In addition to the foregoing, it may be acceptable to have the following extract from a letter to Thomas Lower, when he sent him a copy of the feoffment deed. In this letter, after giving directions about the deed and other writings relating to

this business, that they should be transcribed and entered in proper books, he gives the following additional directions about proceeding in the work.

"And you may mind to buy all the things at the best hand, beforehand, to be ready. And I am in the same mind still, not to put any Friend to a farthing charge. But if Friends of the meeting or thereaway will come with their carts, and help to fetch stone, lime, wood, sand or slate, I shall take it kindly; or to get stone off the common, if need be; and you may speak to Joseph Sharp, for he is a willing man, to help in any thing."

"And the twenty pounds of J. R.'s, which you are to receive, I have and do order it for that service: and the fifteen pounds thou hast in thy hands of Jane and Robert Widders, I order for that service and for the building; and the five pounds Susannah brought up I took of her, and what more ye do want, when it is wanted let me know. And so dear Thomas, with my love to thee and all the rest of Friends, in the holy and peaceable truth, that is stronger than all they that be out of it. And God Almighty keep you in it, and in the order of it. Amen." G. F.

Among the various means of developing human characters, private letters form an important and interesting part. This is particularly the case with

respect to those men, who may be considered as public characters, in whatever line that publicity may have been obtained. Those who live in succeeding generations, have seldom an opportunity of contemplating such persons, but in that public capacity in which they have principally acted. It seemed therefore desirable to bring the more private parts of George Fox's character into view, by these extracts; for though the business to which they relate, may be considered rather of a public nature, yet it has afforded an opportunity of estimating his private virtues; and that in a manner, which cannot fail of making a favourable impression on the mind of every reader. The liberality of the gift, and the expressions of grateful piety with which it is accompanied, afford a pleasing idea of the donor; and when, to these considerations, are added the humility and deference with which he refers many matters to his children and friends, I cannot but contemplate this part with admiration and pleasure. He had now been, nearly forty years, an eminent member of a society, which he had been allowed to be the principal means of establishing; yet we see nothing in his conduct like lording over God's heritage. Though he stood, in the authority of truth over and against every thing that would lay this heritage waste; yet, from various circumstances, as well as from these documents, he appears to have been preserved in much humility and love;

and, by these means, to have greatly endeared himself to his brethren in religious profession and gospel labour; as will in the sequel more fully appear. It is worthy of observation, that he takes no notice of this business in his own memoirs, though they are brought down to a later period of time.

During his residence about London, he spent much of his time at the houses of his sons in law, William Mead and John Rouse. The former lived at Gooses, a few miles from Romford in Essex; the latter at or near Kingston upon Thames. He also frequently visited other Friends at their houses in the country, finding that the air of London and his exercises there, did not suit his enfeebled constitution. In the year 1688 he was scarcely able to sit during the whole time of a meeting; and generally obliged to lie down when it was finished; but he still continued diligent in labouring, both "in and out of meetings in the work of the Lord, as he gave opportunity and ability." In the year 1689 he attended the yearly meeting in London, as he had done for several years past, with satisfaction: and this year addressed an epistle to the yearly meeting at York, which, he says, "because of the largeness of that county, and for the conveniency of Friends in the northern parts, had for some years been held there." This epistle appears to have been occasioned by some dissensions which had

taken place among Friends in that county. Because of its brevity, instruction, and sweetness, and its showing how love, now near the close of a laborious and suffering life, seemed to predominate in his mind, it may be acceptable to give the whole of it a place here.

"Dear Friends and Brethren in Christ Jesus,

"Whom the Lord by his eternal arm and power, hath preserved to this day, all walk in the power and spirit of God, that is over all in love and unity; for love overcomes, builds up, and unites all the members of Christ to him the head. Love keeps out all strife, and is of God. Love or charity never fails; but keeps the mind above all outward things, and strife about outward things. It overcomes evil, and casts out all false fears. It is of God, and unites the hearts of all his people together, in the heavenly joy, concord, and unity. The God of love preserve you all, and establish you in Christ Jesus, your life and salvation; in whom ye have all peace with God. So walk in him, that ye may be ordered in his peaceable, heavenly wisdom, to the glory of God, and the comfort one of another. Amen."

"G. F."

"*London, the 27th of the 3d month*, 1689."

The winter of 1689 he spent at Gooses, and was sometimes able to attend the meeting to which

William Mead belonged, which was about half a mile distant from his house; but as he was not always able to do this, he frequently held meetings in the house, with the family, and with those who came to visit him; still feeling the benefit of frequent waiting upon God, and the duty of worshipping him in as public a manner as his bodily health would permit. He continued at Gooses till the 2d month, 1690, when he returned to London, and after paying a short visit to his Friends at Kingston, came again to the city, where he continued till the yearly meeting in the fourth month, of which he gives this account.—"The wonted goodness of the Lord was witnessed, his blessed presence enjoyed, and his heavenly power livingly felt, opening the hearts of his people unto him, and his divine treasures of life and wisdom unto them; whereby many useful and necessary things, relating to the safety of Friends, and to the honour and prosperity of truth, were weightily treated of, and unanimously concluded."

After this yearly meeting, he continued in London nearly a month, and then went into the country, as far as Hertford and Ware, visiting his Friends at Tottenham, Ford Green, Enfield, Cheshunt, Waltham Abbey, and Winchmore Hill. At Hertford he had a meeting with the ancient Friends of that place, to whom he imparted suitable

advice; and returned by Ware, and other places already mentioned, to London, in the latter part of the seventh month; where, except one excursion into the neighbouring country, he continued till his disease, being almost daily with Friends at their meetings, and writing epistles on different occasions. The last of these is addressed to Friends in Ireland, who were, at that time, under great sufferings, from the intestine commotions in that nation. This affectionate and encouraging epistle is dated the 10th of Eleventh Month, 1690. The following day being the first of the week, he attended the meeting at Gracechurch street; where he was publicly exercised in his ministerial gift, both in testimony and supplication, with great power and clearness.

When this meeting was concluded, he retired to the house of Henry Gouldney, in Whitehart court, when he informed some Friends who accompanied him, that he felt the cold strike to his heart as he came out of meeting; but added, "I am glad I was here; now I am clear, I am fully clear." After this he lay down, but feeling the sense of cold continue, was put into bed; where, increasing in weakness, he continued with much peace and resignation, till his death, which took place after two days confinement. In the interval his mind was much engaged on subjects, which had,

during a long exercising life, occupied his principal attention. That active spirit which had been indefatigably engaged in the universal love of God, to make known his truth and righteousness among the nations of the earth, was still alive to the promotion of this glorious cause. This was evinced by the directions which he gave at this awful crisis, respecting the distribution of books, calculated to promote the great ends for which he had personally laboured. The triumphant state of his mind over all his bodily weakness, was manifested by the following expressions to some Friends who visited him: "all is well; the Seed* of God reigns over all, and over death itself; and though I am weak in body, yet the power of God is over all; and the Seed reigns over all disorderly spirits." About four or five hours before his death, some of his Friends inquired how he found himself, to whom he replied with that fortitude and indifference to bodily sufferings, which remarkably distinguished his character; "Never heed, the Lord's power is over all weakness

* The word, or the power of God, is called *an incorruptible seed*, 1 PET. i. 23; and by the term "seed," George FOX, and other religious writers, frequently, and very emphatically allude to this divine influence. Cruden, under the head "seed," thus explains the term: "The word is called *an incorruptible seed*, because, continuing still the same, and being immutable in itself, it changes and renews the hearts of those who by faith receive it."—"Hence it is said, 1 JOHN iii. 9, Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin; for his *seed* remaineth in him."

and death; the Seed reigns, blessed be the Lord." Such was the composure which attended him at this solemn season, that he closed his own eyes and mouth at the time when life was expiring.

In this state of mind, his spirit quitted its earthly tabernacle, on Third-day, the thirteenth of the Eleventh Month 1690, between the hours of nine and ten at night; he being then in the sixty-seventh year of his age. At his close, he was surrounded by many of his sorrowful friends; who, it appears from various accounts, and particularly from letters written on the occasion, were deeply affected with the loss of one whom they so highly esteemed and revered.

The interment took place three days after his decease, on which occasion a very large and solemn meeting was held at Gracechurch street; after which the corpse was conveyed to Bunhill Fields, accompanied by several thousands of Friends and others.* Here, as well as at the meeting-house,

* William Penn, in a letter which he wrote on this occasion, calculates the number of Friends and others at two thousand; but Robert Barrow states the number much higher. He also mentions the Friends who were publicly engaged at the meeting house and burial ground, in the order in which they spake, viz. At the meeting house, James Park, Robert Barrow, Ambrose Rigge, Jasper Batt, William Penn, Francis Camfield, Stephen

many public testimonies were given forth to the efficacy of that divine power, which had qualified their departed friend, for the important services to which he had been called; and to the faithful labours, patient sufferings, and exemplary conduct, with which he had adorned the gospel of God our Saviour.

Crisp, John Taylor of York, Francis Stamper, and George Whitehead; Thomas Green was afterwards engaged in prayer. Notwithstanding the number of preachers, it appears the meeting lasted only about two hours. Those who preached at the grave side, were William Penn, Jasper Batt, George Whitehead, John Vaughton, and William Bingley.

CHAPTER XXII.

Account of his property.—His character.

HAVING now terminated the account of the life and death of this devoted labourer in the Lord's vineyard, it remains to say something respecting his character, both in a private and public capacity. But before I enter upon this part of my work, it may be proper to give some idea of the property which he possessed. From an account which he left behind him, it appears that he held shares of two vessels, belonging to Scarborough; and had also a small share in some business. Several sums of money belonging to him are likewise mentioned, as being in the hands of different friends; and from the best estimate which I am capable of forming, the value of the whole was about eight hundred pounds, exclusive of above one thousand acres of land in Pennsylvania, which he says William Penn gave him; but it is doubtful whether he ever came into possession of this land, so as to derive any benefit from it. As it does not appear that he at all enriched himself by marrying a woman of fortune, it is likely the property which he possessed, was principally patrimonial. This may account for the ability which he always manifested to support him-

self in his travels, so as not to receive any assistance from others, further than that hospitable entertainment, which the great head of the church has provided for his ministers.

In the different relations of a son, a husband, and that of a father to his wife's children, he appears to have discharged the duties of these stations with affectionate regard, though the nature of his religious services, prevented him from enjoying so much of their society, as would have been mutually agreeable. To the children of his wife, as well as to her, he was much attached. From some letters still preserved, it is evident that the daughters of judge Fell, as well as their mother, had formed a very high opinion of George Fox, in the early part of his public services; and he having been the means of bringing them to the knowledge of the truth, they became united to him as a father and a friend. When he was married to their mother, the disinterestedness of his conduct, could not fail to add greatly to their esteem and affection; and it appears, by a testimony respecting him, given by his wife's daughters and their husbands, that they indeed found him "as a tender father, who never failed to give them wholesome counsel and advice." From this testimony it also appears that the esteem and affection which they had entertained for him in early life, was rather increased than diminished by

a longer and more close acquaintance; from which circumstance, as well as from others, we may gather, that he was a man of an amiable and liberal disposition, which greatly endeared him to those who were most intimately acquainted with him.

His natural faculties were clear and strong; and though he had not the polish of human learning, yet he was not deficient in useful knowledge. "A divine and a naturalist," says William Penn, "and all of God Almighty's making. He had in him the foundation of useful and commendable knowledge, and cherished it every where." He was indeed by no means opposed to the acquirement of learning, except as a necessary qualification for gospel ministry. On the contrary, he greatly promoted the establishment of schools, in his own society; and may be considered as a friend to learning, and not an enemy to it, as some have erroneously supposed.

His person was tall and corpulent; and his countenance graceful. His manners, to use the words of William Penn, were "civil beyond all forms of breeding:" and though some expressions which he occasionally used to those whom he considered as persecutors, and enemies of the truth, might be plainer, or coarser than would now be thought proper; yet this is confined to the early

part of his writings, and may be imputed to the zealous manners of the times, and to the honest indignation which he felt, against all violations of liberty of conscience; and particularly against the hypocrisy and deceit of many, who opposed and persecuted him. His general conduct, indeed, was so far from being harsh or severe, that his contemporary biographer, already quoted, says, that "he was of an innocent life, no busy body, no self seeker, neither touchy nor critical; what fell from him was very inoffensive, if not very edifying. So meek, contented, modest, easy, steady, it was a pleasure to be in his company. A most merciful man; as ready to forgive, as unapt to take or give an offence."

But it was in spiritual gifts and faculties, that this apostle of his day, shone with the greatest lustre." "He was a man," (I again quote William Penn,) "that God endowed with a clear and wonderful depth; a discerner of other men's spirits and very much a master of his own, And though the side of his understanding which lay next to the world, and especially the expression of it, might sound uncouth and unfashionable to nice ears, his matter was nevertheless very profound; and, as abruptly and brokenly as sometimes his sentences would fall from him, about divine things, it is well known they were often as texts to many fairer declarations."

Though this sententious and rather abrupt mode of expression, might be his frequent manner of delivery; yet this does not appear to have been always the case; for in the testimony given by his children concerning him, they say, that "though of no great literature, he had the tongue of the learned, and could speak a word in due season, to the conditions and capacities of most; especially to them that were weary and wanted soul's rest; being deep in the deep mysteries of the kingdom of God." Of this part of his character, I find a remarkable instance, in a manuscript which has been put into my hands, in which the following relation is given by an ancient woman Friend, to some who visited her. "And now, Friends," said she, "I will tell you how I was first convinced. I was a young lass at that time, and lived in Dorsetshire, when George Fox came to that county; and he having appointed a meeting, to which people generally flocked, I went among the rest; and in my going along the road, this query arose in my mind; what is it that I feel which condemneth me when I do evil, and justifieth me when I do well? what is it? in this state I went to the meeting. It was a large gathering, and George Fox rose up with these words: who art thou that queriest in thy mind, what is it which I feel which condemneth me when I do evil, and justifieth me when I do well? I will tell thee what it is. Lo! he that formeth the mountains and

createth the wind, and declareth unto man what is his thought; that maketh the morning darkness, and treadeth upon the high places of the earth; the Lord, the God of Hosts is his name. It is he by his Spirit that condemneth thee for evil, and justifieth thee when thou dost well. Keep under its dictates, and it will be thy preserver to the end." To this narration the ancient Friend added, "it was the truth, the very truth, and I have never departed from it."

The principal object of his gospel labours, was to turn the minds of people from a dependance on the teachings of men, to an attention to the light and Spirit of Christ in their own hearts. "In his ministry," adds William Penn, "he endeavoured to open the truth to the people's understanding, and to ground them on the principle and principal, Christ Jesus, the light of the world. He had an extraordinary gift in opening the scriptures; and would go to the marrow of things, and show the mind, harmony, and fulfilling of them, with much plainness, and to great comfort and edification."

"But above all," continues this capable judge of men and things, "above all he excelled in prayer. The inwardness and weight of his spirit; the reverence and solemnity of his address and behaviour; the fewness and fulness of his words, have often

struck even strangers with admiration; as they used to reach others with consolation. The most awful, living, reverend frame I ever felt or beheld, I must say, was his in prayer. And truly it was a testimony he knew and lived nearer to the Lord, than other men; for they that know him most, will see most reason to approach him with reverence and fear."

In the establishment of the discipline, it has already been observed, that he met with much opposition from many, who had been his own friends. Some of these had even imbibed an enmity against him; and both publicly and privately, endeavoured to lessen his services, and the favourable opinion which had been entertained of him. But here again, William Penn goes on, "he bore all their weakness and prejudice, and returned not reflection for reflection; but forgave them their weak and bitter speeches. And truly I must say, that though God had visibly clothed him with a divine preference and authority, and indeed his very presence expressed a religious majesty; yet he never abused it, but held his place in the church of God, with great meekness, and a most engaging humility and moderation. For upon all occasions, like his blessed master, he was a servant to all, holding and exercising his eldership, in the invisible power which had gathered them, with reverence to the

head, and care over the body. I write my knowledge, and not report, and my witness is true; having been with him for weeks and months together on divers occasions, and those of the nearest and most exercising nature; and that by night and by day, by sea and by land; in this and in foreign countries; and I can say, I never saw him out of his place, or not a match for every service and occasion."

In addition to the foregoing delineation of the character of George Fox, chiefly extracted from William Penn's account of him, it may not be improper to add the testimony of Thomas Ellwood: and it should be observed, that Penn and Ellwood were both men who had received a liberal education, and had a general knowledge of the world, and things relating to it; as well as being men of religious principle and moral integrity; so that their testimony has all the weight and respect, that can be required on such an occasion. Thomas Ellwood's account is in these words: "I knew him not till the year 1660; but from that time to the time of his death, I knew him well, conversed with him often, observed him much, loved him dearly, and honoured him truly; and, upon good experience, can say, he was indeed an heavenly minded man, zealous for the name of the Lord, and preferred the honour of God before all things."

"He was valiant for the truth; bold in asserting it; patient in suffering for it; unwearied in labouring in it; steady in his testimony to it; immoveable as a rock. Deep he was in divine knowledge; clear in opening heavenly mysteries; plain and powerful in preaching; fervent in prayer. He was richly endued with heavenly wisdom; quick in discerning; sound in judgment; able and ready in giving, discreet in keeping counsel; a lover of righteousness; an encourager of virtue, justice, temperance, meekness, purity, chastity, modesty, humility, charity, and self-denial in all; both by word and example. Graceful he was in countenance; manly in personage; grave in gesture; courteous in conversation; weighty in communication; instructive in discourse; free from affectation in speech or carriage. A severe reprover of hard and obstinate sinners; a mild and gentle admonisher of such as were tender and sensible of their failings. Not apt to resent personal wrongs; easy to forgive injuries; but zealously earnest where the honour of God, the prosperity of truth, or the peace of the church was concerned. Very tender, compassionate and pitiful he was to all that were under any sort of affliction; full of brotherly love; full of fatherly care: for indeed the care of the churches of Christ was daily upon him, the prosperity and peace whereof he studiously sought. Beloved he was of God; be-

loved of God's people; and, (which was not the least part of his honour,) the common butt of all apostates' envy, whose good, notwithstanding, he earnestly sought. He lived and died the servant of the Lord."

I have thought it necessary to be more particular in giving the character of George Fox thus at large, and from men the most capable and respectable in every sense of the word, because of the many injurious representations, which have been published respecting him. In every thing except learning, (and of this he had probably as much as many of the first preachers of the gospel,) his character will not suffer, on a fair comparison with those eminent reformers, who first broke the shackels of popery, and were the means of emancipating nations from the yoke of the Romish hierarchy. Both he and they were no doubt subject to like passions as we are; and might occasionally evince the weaknesses of human nature; but in natural powers, in spiritual gifts, in disinterested and extensive gospel labour, and in those virtues which adorn the gospel of Christ, few, very few, I believe, have exceeded the subject of this memoir.

Many persons have been accustomed to view this extraordinary man, only through the eyes of his adversaries. If any of these should read this

account of him, taken from the most authentic sources of information, it is hoped that they will be convinced of the injustice, with which his character has been generally drawn. Like those reformers already alluded to, he was loaded with severe calumny and bitter reproaches, and, I believe it may be safely said, with no more regard to truth than they were. May those who are disposed to treat the memory of such a man injuriously, feel the force of the following lines, written by one of our best poets, after he had been describing a character similar to that which we have just delineated.

"Blush, calumny! and write upon his tomb,
If honest eulogy can spare thee room,
Thy deep repentance of thy thousand lies,
Which, aim'd at him, have pierced th' offended skies;
And say, Blot out my sin, confess'd, deplored,
Against thine image, in thy Saint, O Lord!

THE END.

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF GEORGE FOX'S PUBLICATIONS.

THE writings of George Fox, collected and published after his death, are contained in three folio volumes. The first is, 'A Journal or Historical Account of his Life, Travels, Sufferings, Christian Experiences, and Labour of Love in the Work of the Ministry." It is preceded by several testimonies concerning him, from his relations and friends; and by a long, but excellent preface, written by William Penn. From this journal, which was published in 1694, and contains above seven hundred pages, the foregoing account of him, is principally extracted.

The second volume consists of "Many Select and Christian Epistles and Testimonies, written on sundry occasions." The number is four hundred and twenty: besides these, there are many epistles contained in the first and third volumes. George Whitehead has prefaced this collection of epistles, with some pertinent remarks on the author, and his works. It was printed in the year 1698, and contains five hundred and fifty-seven pages.

The third volume is entitled, "Gospel Truth demonstrated, in a Collection of Doctrinal Books," &c. To this volume, are also prefixed testimonies concerning him from many of his friends, by whom, it appears, he was not only much loved, whilst living, but that his memory was greatly revered, when he was removed from them. This volume was printed in the year 1706; above fifteen years after his death. The pieces are arranged chronologically; many of them are very short, and the title of each will be given at the close of this general account. This volume consists of 1090 pages, exclusive of the testimonies, and a short

Preface. Besides the contents of these three volumes, there are many other publications, noticed by J. Whiting, in his catalogue of Friends' books.

George Fox, though not a man of learning, was, no doubt, a man of reading. In the scriptures* he was particularly well versed; and he appears to have read much in ecclesiastical, and some other histories. As an author, we are often struck with the excellence of his matter, and the strength of his argument; though we must acknowledge a want of method and of polish, particularly in his early writings. For these purposes, learning is certainly very useful, and renders written works more agreeable, and in general more beneficial. But the want of learning, if a fault, was the fault of his parents, rather than of himself; and the defect was perhaps more than counterbalanced, by rendering his natural and spiritual gifts more conspicuous; and by more strongly evincing the power of that grace, by which he might say with the Apostle, "I am what I am."

*It appears that he did not use the common translation, but either Crammer's, or some other ancient version. One of these was placed, I suppose by him, in the meeting-house which he built at Swarthmore. In a Note at the end of one of his books, he mentions using "the ancient approved Bible, printed in Queen Elizabeth's reign."

LIST OF GEORGE FOX'S WRITINGS.

Contained in the last mentioned volume.

Date.

1. To all that would know the way to the kingdom; whether they be in forms, without forms, or got above all forms 1653
2. The vials of the wrath of God, poured forth upon the man of sin, and upon all professors of the world, who deny the light of Christ 1654
3. A word from the Lord to all the world, &c. . . —
4. To all who love the Lord Jesus Christ . . —
5. To the high and lofty ones . . . 1655
6. To all the rulers of the earth . . —
7. A visitation to the Jews 1656
8. A visitation to all you that have long had the Scriptures, but are found out of the life of them that gave them forth, &c. . . . . —
9. A declaration of the difference of the Ministers of the word, from the ministers of the world . . . —
10. A cry for repentance, unto the inhabitants of London chiefly . . . . . —
11. The woman learning in silence; or the mystery of woman's subjection to her husband; also the daughter prophecying . . . . . —
12. A declaration concerning fasting, and the prayer that God accepts . . . . . —
13. The promise of God proclaimed, which is Christ —
14. An Epistle to all people on the earth; showing the ignorance of all the world, both professors and teachers, of the birth that must be silent, and of the birth that is to speak, &c. 1657
15. Concerning silent meetings . . . —
16. To all the magistrates in London, &c. . . —
17. Concerning the world's hypocritical salutations 1656
18. The fashions of the world made manifest; also a few words to the city of London . . . —
19. The second covenant, &c. . . . —
20. A warning to all the merchants in London: with advice to them to lay aside their superfluity, and with it to nourish the poor 1658
21. The pearl found in England . . . —
22. The wrath of the Lamb . . . . —
23. The Lamb's officer is gone forth with the Lamb's message 1659
24. The serious people's reasoning and speech with the world's professors . . . . . —

25. The difference between the world's relation and the saint's relation . . . . . ——
26. To the people of Uxbridge . . . . . ——
27. A word in behalf of the King; that he may see who they are that honour all men, love the brotherhood, fear God, and honour the King. 1660
28. To the Turk, and all that are under his authority ——
29. Some papers given forth to the magistrates of the island of Melita; and to the Emperor of the house of Austria, and to all those Princes under him; to the King of France, and all the powers that be under him; and to the King of Spain; and lastly to the Pope . . . . . ——
30. To the Emperor of China, and his subordinate Kings and Princes . . . . . ——
31. To all the nations under the whole heavens; and to all those who have ministered the letter, and yet are ignorant, and have kept others in the ignorance, both of the letter and spirit also . . . . . ——
32. A few plain words by way of query and information to the teachers and people of the nation . . . . . ——
33. To both houses of Parliament . . . . . ——
34. Concerning Christ Jesus the covenant of God . ——
35. Truth's triumph in the eternal power over the dark inventions of fallen man 1651
36. A declaration to the Jews; in which they may see that the Messiah is come, according to their own prophets, and Gabriel the Angel; and according to their number of time and years out of Daniel IX. . . . . ——
37. To all that profess Christianity are these following particulars—Concerning their name of Christians—Loving Enemies—The worship in spirit—Gospel fellowship—Their many heads and baptisms—Their many churches—Their disagreeing about Scripture's interpretation ——
38. Christ's light the only antidote to overcome and expel the poison of Satan's greatest temptations 1652
39. A measuring rule concerning liberty and persecution ——
40. To all rulers of families. . . . . ——
41. Some queries to all the teachers and professors of Christianity to answer 1656
42. To all sorts of people in Christendom . . . 1657
43. Gospel liberty and the royal laws of love, set above Ahasuerxes and Nebuchadnezzar's law and commands; above the Medes and Persians and Darius' decrees 1658
44. Concerning the act that prohibits, that not [illegible] or five may meet . . . . . ——
45. A hammer to break down all invented images, [illegible]akers, and image-worshippers 1671
46. The heathens' divinity set upon the heads of all called Christians . . . . . ——

47. To all professors in the Christian world: Also to the Turks and Jews throughout the whole world . . 1673
48. A warning to England, &c. 1674
49. For all the bishops and priests in Christendom, to measure themselves by the scriptures of truth, and the spirit whence they came . . . . . —
50. A looking glass for the Jews 1674
51. A testimony of what we believe of Christ, both as he was God and as he was man 1675
52. A small treatise concerning swearing . . . —
53. Primitive ordination and succession of bishops, &c. in the church of Christ . . . . . —
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71. Concerning the living God of truth, and the world's God, in whom there is no truth . . . . . 1680.

72. A clear distinction between the old covenant and the new covenant —
73. To the great Turk, and king at Algiers; with a postscript of George Pattison's taking the Turks, and setting them on their own shore —
74. The protestant christian Quaker, a sufferer by reliques of Popery —
75. An encouragement for all to trust in the Lord 1682
76. An epistle to all Christians, Jews, and Gentiles, showing how that God dwells not in temples made with hands —
77. Concerning persecution in all ages —
78. How the devil was and is the old informer against the righteous —
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84. A distinction betwixt the wars and weapons, &c. in the old testament and the new 1684
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87. The authority of the church of Christ —
88. Concerning exhortation and admonition —
89. Concerning such as cry against orders —
90. Concerning meeting in houses, ships, streets, mountains, and high ways —
91. The state of the birth temporal and spiritual; Also showing that children are the heritage of the Lord —
92. Trying of spirits in our age, as in the apostle's days by the spirit of Christ —
93. The saints' heavenly and spiritual worship, unity, and communion —
94. A word of admonition to such as wander from the anointing and teaching within. Also concerning the supper of the Lord, &c. —
95. Concerning such as shall enter into the kingdom of God, and such as shall not —
96. Concerning such as have forbidden preaching or teaching, in the name of Jesus —
97. To the chief magistrates, rulers, &c. —
98. An exhortation to all people, to pureness, cleanness, and holiness, and faithfulness to the Lord 1685

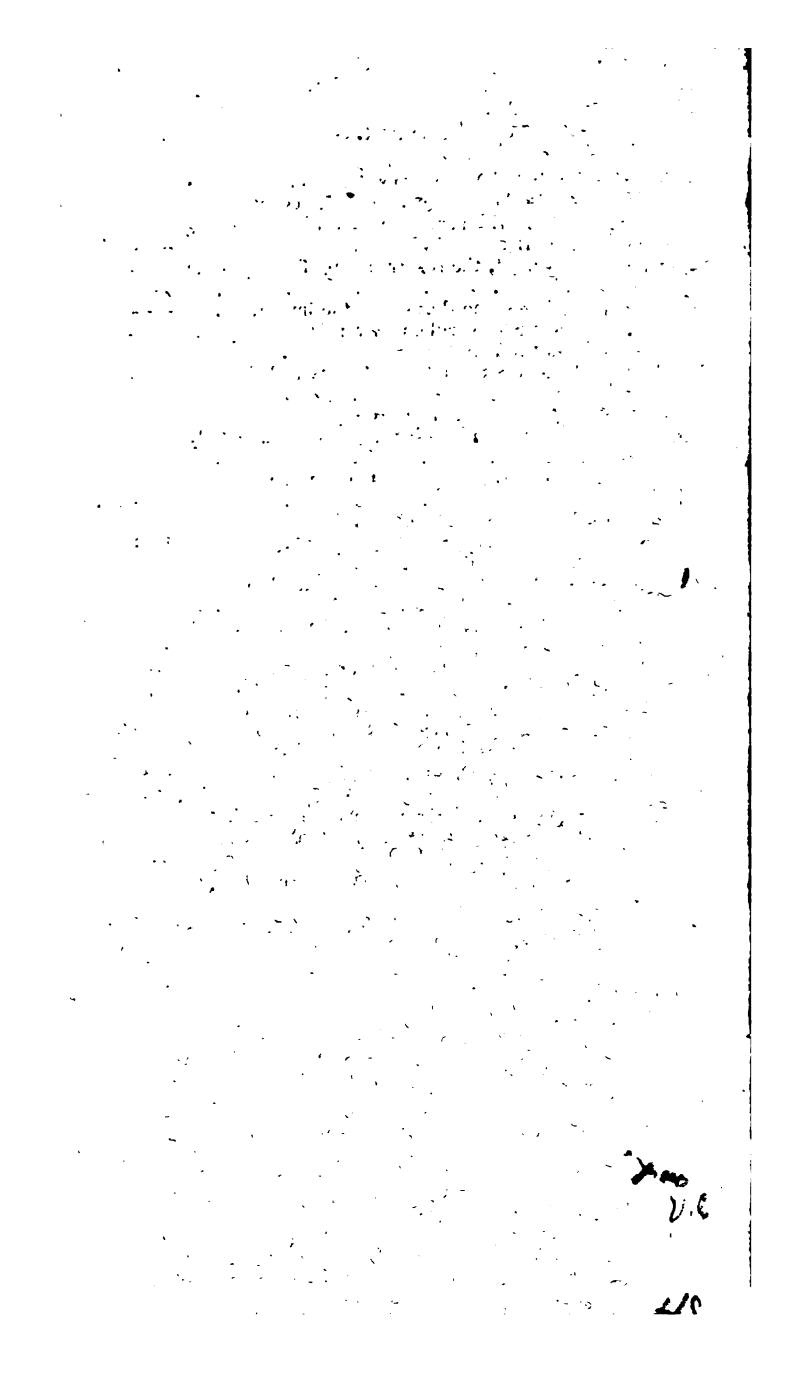
99. A distinction betwixt the two suppers of Christ; namely, the last supper in the night before he was crucified; and the supper after he was risen and ascended, which he calls people to in revelations III. ——
100. Concerning Christ, the resurrection of the just and unjust ——
101. Concerning the stone that smote the image, &c. ——
102. To all kings, princes, rulers, governors, bishops and clergy that profess Christianity ——
103. A distinction between the true liberty and the false 1685
104. How the unchangeable God is, and how all people may know him, and in what he is worshipped and served ——
105. A true account of the sensible, thankful, and holy state of God's people 1686
106. To all magistrates in Christendom, against persecution ——
107. How God's people are not to take the names of the heathen Gods in their mouths, &c. 1687
108. A testimony for God's truth ——
109. Concerning the apostate Christians that think to do miracles by dead men's bones, &c. 1688
110. An answer to the speech or declaration of the great Turk, with the speech prefixed ——
111. Concerning early sacrifices and offerings ——
112. Concerning the antiquity of the people of God, called Quakers 1689
113. A spiritual or heavenly salutation to all the tender-hearted in Christendom ——
114. The inward and spiritual warfare, and the false pretence of it ——

A variety of subjects are here treated on.

115. Several treatises worthy of every true Christian's consideration ——

Most of these are against persecution.

NOTE.—Several of the foregoing titles are contracted from the originals.



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